

1490. d. 65.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
IN
ENGLAND

UNDER THE
Family of the *STUARTS*,
From the Year 1603, to 1690.

IN THREE BOOKS;

Wherein are contain'd many Secret MEMOIRS
relating to that FAMILY, and the last Great
REVOLUTION, *Anno* 1688.

By F. J. D'ORLEANS, of the Society of JESUS.

Translated from the French Original Printed at Paris.

To which is Prefix'd

AN ADVERTISEMENT concerning this
HISTORY.

L O N D O N :

Printed for E. CURLL at the Dial and Bible
against St. *Dunstan's* Church, and R. GOSLING
at the Mitre near the *Inner Temple Gate*, *Fleet-*
street. 1711. Price 5 s.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
OF THE
ENGLAND



Family of the STUARTS
From the Year 1602 to 1702
IN THREE BOOKS

Written and continued by Secret Memoirs
relating to that Family, and the Great
Revolution, &c.

By H. J. DOLLAIR, of the Society of Jesus.

Translated into English by Thomas

AN APPENDIX, containing
HISTORY

LONDON:
Printed for E. Currier, at the Dial in Pall Mall
against St. Dunstons Church, and R. D. in the
of the Mint near the Bank, 1711.
Price 2s.

TO THE
Most Sacred Majesty
OF
LEWIS the XIV, &c

I Dedicate this History of the REVOLU-
TIONS of England to Your Majesty.
It was no Failure in Your Majesty, that
the last of them was not prevented. Had
Your Advice been follow'd, and Your Succours
accepted of, the King of England had been still
on his Throne.

That

The DEDICATION.

That Prince is excusable, for having had Regard to the nice Temper of His People; who look'd upon Your Alliance with a jealous Eye, because of Your Religion, and Power. But Your Generosity, Sir, is Great; in that You have undertaken to defend Him, at a Time when His Misfortunes had depriv'd His Courage and Bravery of any other Support. Your Majesty, in this History, will behold the Justice of the Cause You maintain; which is the very Cause of that same Religion, that renders You so formidable to those who attack the Church; whose only Support You now are against so many Enemies, who have drawn Her Own Children into a Confederacy against Her, under Colour of uniting them against You. To speak in the Scripture Phrase, They are the Battles of the Lord You have fought so long, not the King of England's, nor Your Own; and the continual Success God has bless'd You with, sufficiently testifies it.

In a Six Years War, wherein Your Majesty has all Europe to deal with, Your invincible Power has added whole Provinces, and impregnable Fortresses to Your Conquests; among which Mons and Namur, taken by Your Self in Person, and in the Sight of One Hundred Thousand Men that should have reliev'd them, might suffice to render a Reign Commendable and Glorious. The Battles of Fleurus, of Staffarde, of Stenkerque, of Nerwinde, of Marsaille, and that which has begun this Campaign in Catalonia; not to mention many other



THE DEDICATION.

other Engagements, wherein Your Arms have always preserv'd their Superiority over those of Your Enemies; are Successes Heaven's most Favourite Monarchies have not seen in several Ages. The Sea, after affording You one signal Victory, and so many other Advantages over the Confederate Fleets, has disappointed You but once, to teach the Nation, that some Regard is to be had to Numbers, and that Hercules himself cannot encounter Two at the same Time.

Bating that Accident, wherein can the Confederates boast they have worsted You? Your Majesty had but one Enemy more to fear, and God has now deliver'd You from him. Your People was threatned with a Scarcity, which afflicted the Poor, and consequently Your tender Heart. Heaven has granted to Your Vows such a Plentiful Year, as may make amends for the Barrenness of many. This fresh Blessing from Above, is to Your Majesty an Assurance of many more, and the more certain, in Regard of the Acknowledgments You have made; we have but now comply'd with it, in rendering our Thanks to God. Were the Subjects of the Confederate Princes so dear to them as Yours are to You, we should have offer'd up our Thanks to God for a Peace, instead of doing of it for Your latter Victories. Your Majesty sacrific'd to it as many Conquests, as would have cost Your Enemies many Campaigns, even if they were successful. The Lord, Sir, will scatter the Nations that are
for

The DEDICATION.

*for War; but You shall Triumph, and we will
lift up our Hands to Heaven, that it may
continue to shower down its Blessings on Your
Arms, whose Prosperity no Man wishes more,
than he who is more respectfully and more de-
votedly than any other,*

S I R,


Your Majesty's

Most Humble, and most Obedient

Servant, and Loyal Subject,

Paris, Anno
1695.

F. J. D'Orleans.

 The Reader is desir'd to take Notice,
that this Translation is strictly render'd from
the Original, without any the least Additi-
on, Diminution, or Alteration.

A D.

ADVERTISEMENT

CONCERNING

This HISTORY.

THERE is a Natural Curiosity in most Men to know what is said of them and their Affairs by Strangers and Foreigners ; especially if it be by Persons of great Parts and Knowledge, among whom the Author of this HISTORY may certainly be rank'd. This is easily discernible by almost any Reader, who will soon discover great Art and Dexterity, and no less Subtlety and Penetration in this Writer. And 'tis sufficiently known, that he had very great Advantages as to his Information and Intelligence in this Period, which consists of much the greatest Part of a Century, namely, of the Reign of four Kings, of the same Family of the *Stuarts*. Within the compass of less than fifty Years of it, we find greater Varieties, and more wonderful Changes, than ever happen'd in *ENGLAND* for five Hundred Years before. All which is here neatly compriz'd in a moderate Volume with no less Perspicuity than Strictness, and with a beautiful Mixture of short Characters, nice Reflexions, and notable Sentences, which render the whole so agreeable and instructive, that it is justly presum'd

Advertisement concerning

the Translation cou'd not be unacceptable to an *English* Reader.

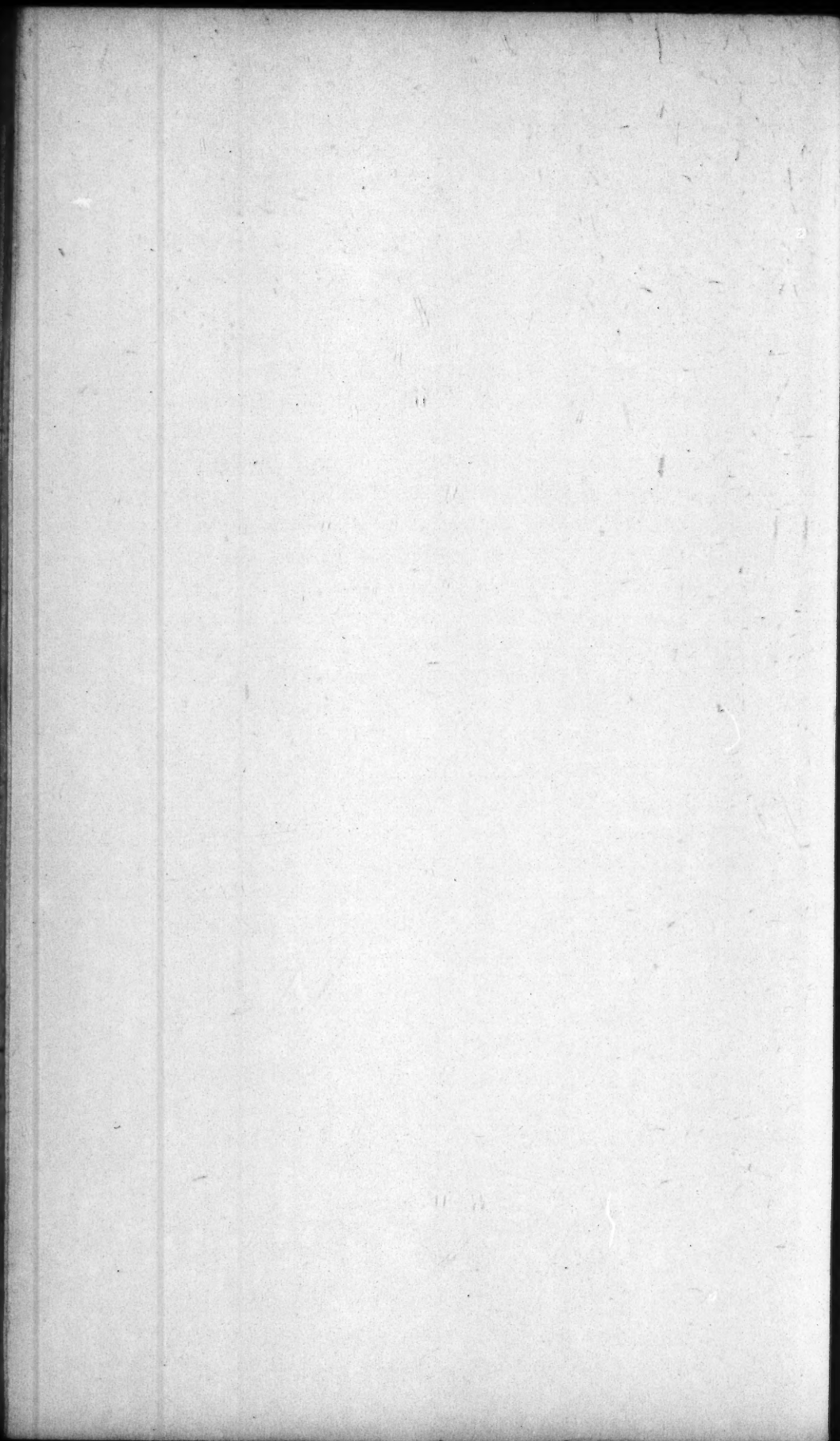
But while that Reader is entertained with so much Skill and Fineness, we ought to caution him with relation to the Education and Religion of the Author. For tho' he has great Marks of a generous Candor, and a laudable Deference to all Superiors, yet he is to be consider'd in all Places, as one in favour with the *French* King, and not only a true *Papist*, but a complete *Jesuit*. So that we are to look upon him, not only as a Disapprover of our Mixt Monarchy, but a direct Opposer of the Establishment of the Church of *England*; which he seems to regard with an Eye of Envy and Contempt, and shews no greater Esteem for the Orthodoxy of the *English* Episcopal Men, than for the worst of our *Secedaries*. With this Caution we may better judge of his Impartiality; which in general may deserve Commendation, notwithstanding his mistaken Opinions: And when we know that he was a profess'd Enemy to all *Protestants*, however denominated, whatever he says concerning the Religion of our Kings and great Ministers is more to be valu'd and regarded.

But to come to some Particulars. — The Account and Character he gives of King *James* the 1st seems very just, with some small Allowances; where his Understanding and Management appear in better and fairer Colours than in some of our own Writers. His Wisdom has of late Years been more called in question than formerly: But the Person who is utterly prejudiced against it, if he will not believe the last Page in *Bp. Spotswood's* History, may be pleas'd to look into the 11th Volume of *Rushworth's* Collections, pag. 472. and he will find something that may either convince or surprize him. What this Author says concerning his Religion, page 5th, 10th, and 12th, is curious and plausible; for in the latter part of his

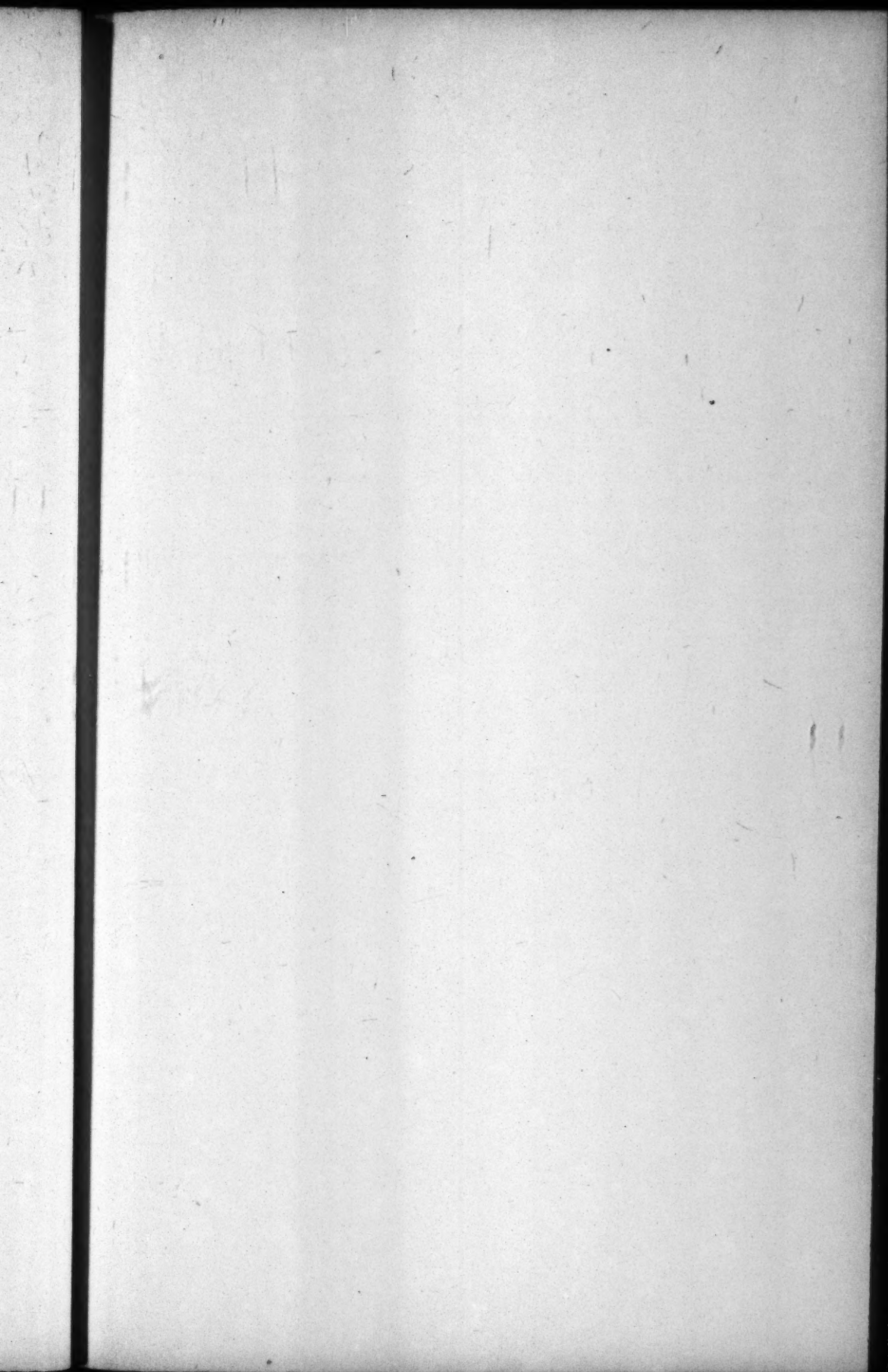


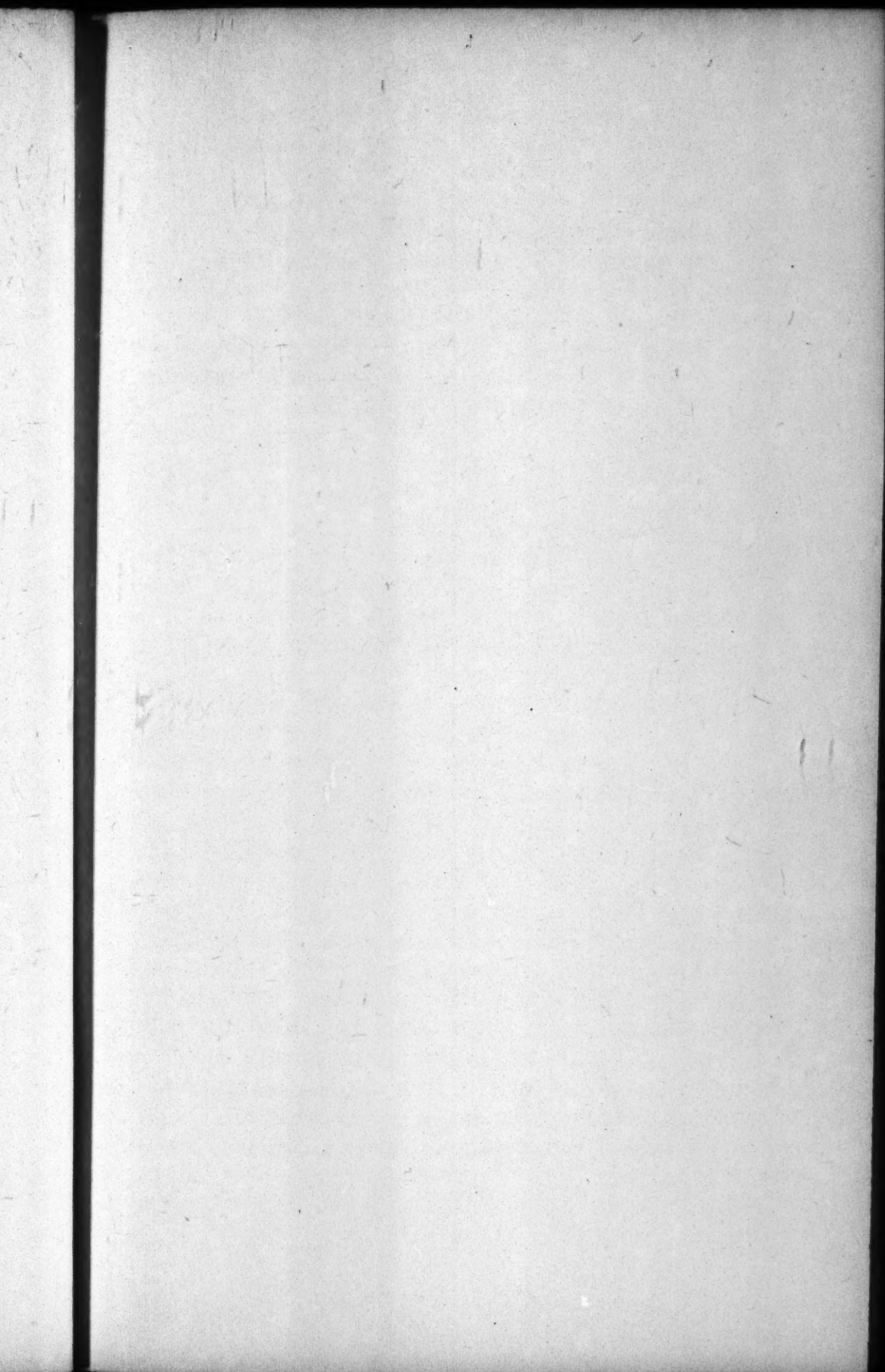
THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
VOL. II
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The Author's Preface.

I am also beholding for some Information to the Earl of Castlemain, whose Virtue, so often try'd for the Sake of his Faith, is a great Addition to his Birth, and his extensive Knowledge answerable to his sprightly Mind. Mr. Skelton has instructed me in what he knew, by being employ'd upon considerable Negotiations in all the Courts of Europe, and particularly in France and Holland, where he had the Opportunity of being nearer than any other to see and observe the nicest Part of what was in agitation, at the Time of the Revolution. But no Man has furnish'd me with better, or more certain Memoirs, than Mr. Sheridan, an Irishman, formerly Secretary of State, Privy Councillor, and Surveyor General of the Revenue in his own Country. I have met with none more knowing in the British History than he, nor better acquainted with the Particulars of late Actions, or of the several Interests of those concern'd in them. He has so great a Share in this Work, that I should be ungrateful did I not own it.

Notwithstanding all these Helps, I am sensible I may have committed some Mistakes; but declare I am ready to own and mend them when told of them. In the mean while, I may justly expect some Favour from the Readers, in regard of the Difficulty there is in writing the History of a Nation, which differs so much from others, and often varies from it self, as the English does. Religion alone there, makes a Confusion of Sects, the Difference between which is hard to be unravell'd. The diversity of Factions in England is another Trouble to an Historian, especially a Stranger, and often puts him in danger of erring. For those Factions, as well as Religion, frequently dividing Families, so that the same Names are found in different Sects and Parties, not to mention those who do not always adhere to the same Sect or Party, it is easy to mistake one for another.

These

The Author's Preface.

These are the main Points I thought my self oblig'd to give the Reader an Account of, and am ready to receive any Information from them, and to improve upon their Observations if ever so slightly communicated to me. Some there are which at least publick Fame will make known to Authors. I shall be attentive to them, and docible, and will endeavour to make my own Errors advantageous to me, in order to be guilty of the fewer for the Time to come.




THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Revolutions in England,
UNDER THE
Family of the STUARTS, &c.

BOOK I.

Containing a Short Account of the Peace-
ful Reign of King JAMES the First,
and the Troubles under King CHARLES
the First, to the Murder of that Prince,
and Usurpation of Oliver Cromwell.

WERE the Inclinations of Princes as nat- 1603.
urally communicated to their Subjects,  James
as those of Parents are to their Children, the English Nation might for a long time have been heal'd by King James the First, of that restless Distemper which is the Occa-
sion of Revolutions. No Prince was ever a greater Lo-
ver of Peace, or more careful to maintain it. He was
pleas'd and glory'd in being call'd the Peaceable King.
His Temper, Designs, and Maxims, all tended to

1603.

that end. He frankly declar'd he was not ambitious of extending his Dominions, but thought it enough to obstruct others from inchoaching on them; and ow n'd an Aversion to War, which he said was in the State like Women in a private Family, sometimes a necessary Evil, but to be avoided as much as possible. It is also reported, that he had a natural Aversion to Arms, and could not see a naked Sword without being in Danger of swooning. Yet is not that Weakness attributed to want of Courage, but to the Fright the Queen his Mother took, when being big of him, she saw *David Rice* murder'd in her Presence: However ill Tongues did not forbear reproaching Him on that account, and some Person had the Boldness to make a *Latin Distich*, the Sense whereof was; That *Elizabeth* had been a great King, and *James* was a good Queen, for Nature had been mistaken in both of them.

Lives in A-
mity with
France and
Spain.

All these Reflections could not move that Philosophical Prince to make any Alteration in his Conduct, which he was fixt in by Nature, Education, and Study. The Course of his Life was regulated by that Plan, and ever continu'd uniform in that Particular. One of his first publick Acts, as soon as seated on the Throne of England, was a Declaration, that he would maintain a good Understanding with all his Neighbours. And accordingly upon his first taking Possession of the Government of that Monarchy, he immediately gave Order to conclude a Peace with Spain, which Queen *Elizabeth* had been long in War with; and to renew the Alliance that Princess had contracted with *Henry the Great*, King of France. From that time forward, King *James*, adhering to the Rule he had prescrib'd to himself, not to interfere with the Affairs of others, very rarely interpos'd in what related to those two Monarchs, neither endeavouring to set them at Variance, nor to reconcile them. He also very dexterously prevented an almost unavoidable Occasion of breaking with one or other of them; on the one side, under-hand obstructing the Dutch from putting themselves under the Protection of France, as they were courted to do; and on the other, industriously advancing their Accommodation with Spain. Thus at once discharging himself of the Engagement he was under of protecting a Protestant Nation against Spain, and of the Jealousy he must have conceiv'd lest France by the Accession



Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

cession of the United Provinces to its Power, might acquire a Superiority that must be uneasy to its Neighbours.

Whatsoever Alliances this King contracted with other Sovereigns, the Consequence of them never was such as to ingage him in their Quarrels. His Brother in Law, the King of *Denmark*, designing to make War with *Sweden*, discover'd his Intention to him, desiring his Assistance. King *James* did all he could to dissuade him; but perceiving he could not prevail, positively declar'd he would not assist him, and was as good as his Word.

Refuses
Aid to
Denmark

The Emulation there was between those Foreign Powers very much facilitated the *English* Monarchs continuing at Peace with them as he desir'd; each of them keeping fair with him, if not to gain him for an Ally, yet at least not to make him an Enemy. There was more Reason to fear he might meet with greater Obstacles in securing the publick Tranquillity at home among his Subjects; and in this Particular he made it appear; that Nature had no less furnish'd him with the Talent of establishing Peace, than with the Inclination to it. For on the one hand, the uneasy Temper of an *English* Parliament seem'd likely to be heighten'd under a King who was a Stranger, and unacquainted with the Customs of the Country; and on the other, the Union of two Fierce, Hot, and Unfriendly Nations, must find him that was to govern them enough to do, before they could be reconcil'd to one another. Besides that, the Difference of Religion betwixt them, tho' both Protestants, was a powerful Motive to disunite the Minds of the two Nations, between which there was before a natural Antipathy.

English
uneasy
Temper.

Since those Islanders have abandon'd that Unity, which is the distinctive Mark of the True Church, all the most extravagant and senseless Heresies in the World have found Followers among them; of such mighty Consequence it is not to deviate from that first Point of the Legal Authority, which is the only Preservative appointed by God to secure the Mind of Man from straying out of the Way. The *Socinians*, the *Anabaptists*, the *Millenarists*, the *Adamites*, and almost all the new Sects that have of late sprung up since the Days of *Martin Luther*, have their Meetings or Conventicles in that Island: It has even those who are rare in other Parts, and whose

Sects in
England.

1693.

*Church of
England.*

Names are expressive of their Madness, such as the *Fanatics* and *Quakers*.

The Chiefest among all these Sects, are those two, which divide *England* and *Scotland* into two Parts, almost equal to one another: That which is properly call'd the Church of *England*, embraces the Medley of Errors, which *Craumer*, who was a *Lutheran*; the Duke of *Somerset*, a *Sacramentarian*; and Queen *Elizabeth*, who took something from all the Innovators of her Time, added to the Schism begun by King *Henry* the Eighth, to form the New Religion, in which they also retain'd some part of the Hierarchy and Customs of the Catholick Church, particularly the Bishops, and many Ceremonies. Hence those Sectaries had the Name of *Episcopal*, given them in Opposition to the *Presbyterians*. These last are the second Predominant Sect in the *British* Monarchy. This Name has been impos'd on them, because they are govern'd by the Elders, that is, by the Sages of their Congregation, who have no other Character, but their Election to that Function. These are mere *Calvinists*, and otherwise call'd *Puritans* in those Kingdoms, because they pretend they have purg'd Christianity from the Superstitions they ascribe to the Church of *Rome*, and cannot bear with the Church of *England* for retaining any part of them.

*Puritans.**Discord
between
them.*

These two Sects were continually embroil'd at the Time I here speak of. At their first falling off, they had acted in Concert to overthrow the *Catholick* Religion, and instead of it to set up the *Episcopal* in *England*, and the *Presbyterian* in *Scotland*. When they had subdu'd the Common Enemy, they turn'd their Arms upon one another, and began that War, which has produc'd those dismal Effects we have beheld. The Quarrel was grown high when King *James* united the two Crowns, and this was a farther Obstruction to the Peace he intended to settle in his new acquir'd Monarchy. However he compass'd it. Fortune contributed something, but many other things concurr'd, which were the Product of his Management.

*K. James's
Methods to
preserve
Peace.
The 1st.*

The first of these was his extraordinary Complaisance towards the Parliament, from his first Accession to the Throne; which he always consulted, not only in the Weighty Affairs of State, but even in most of those which concern'd his Family; condescending to their Advice;

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

5

Advice; pretending a mighty Regard not to infringe their Privileges; asking few extraordinary Supplies, and choosing rather to be streightned in his Way of Living, than to administer occasion of Complaint by filling his Coffers. 1603.

The second was his carrying such an even-Hand between the two Nations, that neither of them was, under him, an Occasion of Preferment, or an Obstacle to it. The raising of *Robert Car*, from a Private Gentleman of *Scotland* to be Earl of *Somerset*, Lord Chamberlain and Minister of State, at first made the *English* apprehensive, lest the natural Affection to his Country should remove all Favour into *Scotland*; but Time soon undeceiv'd them. *Car* was disgrac'd for his Misdemeanors, another Favourite succeeded him, and that was an *English-man*, the same who afterwards grew so famous by the Title of Duke of *Buckingham*. *Cecil*, another *English-man*, was Minister of State: King *James* thus making it appear, that if he lov'd one Man more than another, it was Merit and Affection, not his Birth, or Nation that gave him the Preference. The 2d.

The third thing which contributed to this Prince's enjoying Peace at home, was his easy Compliance in following the Religion that was uppermost. He had been bred up in the *Presbyterian* Sect, and adher'd to it, as long as he staid in *Scotland*. but embraced the *Episcopal*, as soon as he came into *England*. Not that he was void of Religion, having even some Inclination to the True, and made some Steps towards being Converted; but the Difficulty and the Consequences of embracing the *Catholic* Religion were dreadful to a King of *England*, who was apprehensive of disturbing his Repose. The 3d.

King *James* seem'd to have renounc'd his peaceable Disposition, when intending to bring both the Kingdoms to the same Form of Worship, he undertook to introduce the Government, Ceremonies, and Discipline of the Church of *England* into *Scotland*. But it soon appear'd, that even in this Enterprize he preserv'd his Character; by the extraordinary Circumspection, and the nice Measures he took to bring it about; observing the proper Time, soothing, and giving way when he perceiv'd Affairs tended to such Uneasiness as might occasion any Trouble. Thus improving his Interest among the Great Ones, he, in the Year 1606, establish'd *Episcopacy*. 1606.

1606. *capacy* in that Kingdom, in spite of the *Presbyterian* Ministers, and set up the High Commission Court, for the Exercise of the Bishops Jurisdiction. However, at the same time, to render this disagreeable Turn the more tolerable to the Ministers, he took care that their Pensions should be rais'd and better paid. In a Synod held at *Perth*, *Ann. Dom.* 1618, he prevail'd to have the Five following Articles of the *English* Discipline receiv'd;

And five
Articles.

1. That the Sacrament should be taken by the People Kneeling, from the Hands of the Ministers. 2. That the Ministers should go to their Houses to baptize Children in danger of Death. 3. That they should administer the Communion to such Persons as desir'd it. 4. That the Bishops should confirm Children when they came to the Use of Reason, and had learn'd their Catechism. 5. That they should keep the Festivals of the Nativity, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour, and *Pentecost*, or *Whitsuntide*. These Innovations, as the Zealous *Presbyterians* call'd them, made them mutiny, adhering to their former Customs, notwithstanding their Sovereigns Decree, and the Approbation of the Synod, and particularly in Places remote from the Cities, where the Bishops resided. The King conniv'd, and bore with them; believing he could not compel, without too much provoking them. For this same Reason, he desisted from introducing the *English* Liturgy into the Churches of *Scotland*, as he had at first design'd, to the end the Publick Prayers might be the same in all Parts; because there was a general Commotion upon its being bruited abroad, and contented himself with leaving the Project drawn up to the Prince his Son, for him to put it in Execution when there should be a favourable Conjunction; advising him to take heed of the *Presbyterian* Sect, as of a Serpent, whose Venom was equally pernicious both to Church and State.

4th Method.

To conclude, the Fourth Method King *James* dexterously made use of to gain both the Parliament, and the Sectaries in his Dominions, was from Time to Time to expose the *Catholicks* to the Effects of their Aversion. They are said to have given him occasion for so doing, at the Beginning of his Reign, by the Powder Plot. Such a detestable Attempt could never be too severely punish'd. All Men do not agree about the Circumstances of it that were given out. The Inventions of our

Powder-
Plot.

Days

Days show what might have been invented then. However it was, that Crime could not be imputed to the *Catholicks* alone; for a considerable Number of the Conspirators were *Protestants*; and if any *Catholicks* were concern'd, some of them were Priests, who had no other Hand in it than that they were accus'd without sufficient Proof, of having been told it in Confession; the others were two or three Incendiaries, let on, as is believ'd, by *Cecil*, the Prime Minister, in order to expose the *Catholicks* to the Persecution that ensu'd. However it was, the Complaint the King made to his Parliament of that Conspiracy, whether true or false, was more successful in gaining him the Affections of that Assembly, than he could have wish'd. A King hated by the *Catholicks* became the Hero of the *Protestants*, and a Battle gain'd by his Conduct would not have purchas'd him so much Honour among them, as did the accidental escaping of that Danger. This Method of gaining the Peoples Affections, appear'd so successful to that Prince, that he afterwards frequently made use of it; nor was he the last who has had recourse to it. His Successors have scarce found any better Means to amuse the Parliament, when they were apprehensive of it, than complaining against the *Catholicks*, and employing it in bestowing real Penalties on imaginary Conspiracies.

King *James's* Care to oppress the *Catholicks* in *Ireland*, redoubled his Applause among the *Protestants*. This cost him no Trouble; for the *Irish* being destitute of the Succours the *Spaniards* sent them in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, were less able than ever to oppose a Power which was encreas'd one half: So that this Affair disturb'd not the peaceable King's Repose. That of the *Palatinate* gave him more Uneasiness, and was likely, in spite of his Disposition, to ingage him in a War, had not Death prevented; or rather, if the way of Treaty, which is always slow, and which he first try'd, in order to avoid a Rupture, had not gain'd him time to end his Days in Peace.

King *James* never more exerted his Peaceable Temper than upon this Occasion: He had marry'd his Daughter to *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*: After the Death of the Emperor *Matthias*, a Protestant League having offer'd that Elector to place him on the Throne of *Bohemia*, he consulted

1620.

Palatine

Affairs

gambus

li & arid

ambus

1620



sulted his Father-in-law, who foreseeing the Consequences would be fatal to his own and his Son-in-law's Quiet, did all he could to dissuade him from it. But *Frederick*, who had more regard to the Assistance he expected from him than to his Advice, would not refuse the Offer made him by that Party, hoping that the King of *England* would not forsake him in the Time of Need. He was crown'd, but the Coronation was all the Advantage he reap'd by his Royalty: An Army he had rais'd being routed at *Prague* by the Emperor *Ferdinand's*, and his Catholick Majesty's Forces entering the *Palatinate* almost at the same time, that Prince not only lost his new-acquir'd Dominions, but even those which had descended to him from his Ancestors with the Title of an Elector, the Investiture whereof was given to his Kinsman the Duke of *Bavaria* by the Emperor *Ferdinand*.

Prince of
Wales in
Spain.

As fond as his Father-in-law was of Peace, he could not nevertheless be insensible of the Ruin of his Son-in-law, or forbear espousing the Interest of so considerable a Branch of his Family. He espous'd it, but according to his Genius, in the tedious Way of Treaties, which lasted longer than his Life. *Philip III.* King of *Spain* being engag'd for the House of *Austria*, and his Power considerable in that Affair, King *James* propos'd to him a Match between his own Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infanta Mary*, yet without mentioning the Motive that induc'd him to that Alliance. King *Philip* consulted the Pope about that Match, and having receiv'd an Answer, that his Holiness would consent, provided any Advantage might accrue to Religion, the Treaty was set on foot. All things were well near adjusted, and a final Conclusion was so undoubtedly expected, that the Prince of *Wales*, to express his Impatience for it, undertook a Journey into *Spain*. This extraordinary Proceeding was thought might remove all Difficulties that could yet remain towards obstructing of the Match, and to accelerate the tedious way of Proceeding in the Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*; but all the *English* Vivacity could not invigorate the *Spanish* Gravity, nor expedit the *Italian* Slowness. After a considerable time spent in publick Solemnities and Ceremonies, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had the Superintendence over the Prince of *Wales*, falling at Variance with the *Conde Duque de Olivares*, Prime Minister to his Catholick Majesty,

1621
animas
1622
Buckingham's ill
Conduct.

erty, the Business began to cool. Several Accidents heightened the Dissatisfaction on both sides; and at last the Proposal made by the King of *Great Britain* to the King of *Spain*, for engaging him to procure the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, quite broke off the Treaty. King *James*, and the Prince his Son, next cast their Eyes upon *France*, and apply'd themselves to King *Lewis* the 13th, for his Sister, the Princess *Henrietta*, whom the Prince actually marry'd.

1623.

1624.

After this Rupture with *Spain*, King *James* could no longer avoid taking up Arms against the House of *Austria*; he was fully resolv'd upon it, but it was that

peaceable King's Fate to die in Peace. He ceas'd to live, when he design'd to make War; which was on the 26th Day of *March*, 1625, belov'd by his Subjects, lamented by Strangers, and commended by all the Learned Men in *Europe*, as the Patron of Litterature; for which, if we may judge by his Works, it will appear he had rather an Affection than any good Taste, and that he who, during his Life, call'd him the Learned King, rather did it because he was a King, than because he was really Learned. It were to be wish'd, for the Honour of that Prince, that he had been more sparing of the Deference beid for Men of Letters. It cannot but move any one to Indignation against him, to see with what Patience he bore the Insolence of *Buchanan*, who presum'd to dedicate a Book to him, wherein that Author subjects Monarchs to the Judgment of their People, and to Penalties, the greatest whereof is not being Depos'd. What that mercenary Historian falsely writes concerning *Mary Stuart*, ought to have mov'd a Son to express more Concern against the Slanderer of his Mother. Posterity, which does not spare King *James*, for having been too tame towards Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding it so highly concern'd him not to provoke her, will never forget the Lenity he show'd to an insignificant Fellow, because he was a Man of Learning.

1625.

A Fault of his.

From this Description I have given of the first King of the House of *Scotland* that govern'd *England*, two Inferences may be drawn. The first, That his Talent for living in Peace, was almost equally the Product of his Good

His Character.

* De Jure Regni apud Scotos,

and

1625. and Bad Qualities, of much Uprightness, a singular Moderation; of an easy Temper, and good Behaviour; but at the same time of a Mind which neither look'd, nor car'd for any thing beyond it self, confin'd to the present, and leaving to Time the Fate of his Posterity; right in the Bottom, but easy to incline to that Religion where there was the least Opposition, tho' his Inclination was to the True one; Complaisant to avoid being contradicted, and fearful of exercising the Regal Prerogative to avoid disturbing the Tranquility of his Reign, finding it easier to connive at any Wrong than to punish it. The second Inference may be made from what I have said of King *James* is, That by securing Peace to himself, he left his Son *Charles* the Seed of those Broils, which occasion'd the Revolution I shall now write; a War without Mony, a Parliament not us'd to give any, and too positive in that Particular; a Religion not well reconcil'd to it self, and several Sects contending for Preference.

*K. Charles
the First.*

King *Charles* the First's Enemies have given out, that a Prince who had been more politick, less govern'd by others, of a more uniform Conduct; not so easy, or so positive out of Season, and more ready in coming to a Resolution, would have surmounted all those Difficulties. I rather believe it may be said, he had overcome them, had he been more fortunate, and that he was one of those, whose Reputation depends on their Success. As he had Faults, so he had Qualities that corrected them; and as he committed Oversights, so he did other Things which would have more than made amends for them, had not Fortune, which favour'd him upon several Occasions, always forsaken him when Actions were decisive. It cannot be deny'd, but that he had Sense, Courage, and Vertue. That brisk way of his in making War, when he commanded himself, and was fully resolv'd upon it; the several Battles he fought in Person; the Victories he obtain'd; are Demonstrations that he understood the Trade, tho' he did not love it. When he had more than once reduc'd his Enemies to extremity; another Victory would have made him Absolute. But this Height of good Fortune ever fail'd him, what soever he could do to attain it. Had it fallen to his lot, he would never have been charg'd with having brought upon himself a War which he endeavour'd to avoid, nor

with

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with endeavouring to avoid it, when it was become absolutely necessary; he would rather have been commended for managing of it well, and had the Success been prosperous, all Men would have forgot, that perhaps it had been indiscreet in the Original, and too slow in the Beginning.

For the more orderly laying open that King's unparalleled Misfortunes, and for the better discovering, as is the Duty of an Historian, the Miscarriages that are said to have contributed towards them, we must add to the other Seeds of Domestick Troubles and Divisions left him by his Father, a Favourite that was both envy'd and hated. *George Villers, Duke of Buckingham*, who had gain'd the Ascendant over the Father and the Son successively, was the Favourite I speak of. He was a Nobleman endu'd with such Qualities as render'd him amiable to those he desir'd to please, and at the same time made him more insupportable to those he was not afraid to offend. He was a Handsome Man and Witty; born of an aspiring Nature, of a very noble, and when he pleas'd ingaging Behaviour; but Imperious, Haughty, and Restless; and one of those conceited Courtiers, who believe they can do every thing, because they have no Experience in any thing; who endeavour to oblige no Man, when they have gain'd those they stand in need of; and who sacrifice even their Master's Interest to their own Ambition.

Buckingham's Character.

Such a Favourite was most proper to alienate the Hearts of the *English* from their new King; and he was the first Occasion of the fatal Breach between that Prince and his People. The Aversion conceiv'd against the Duke had not appear'd so openly during the former Reign; either because the bearing with him was become habitual, or for that the Parliament believ'd that Complaisance was due to an Old King, who indulg'd them very much. Nay there was a Time when that Assembly paid the Duke great Respect, believing themselves oblig'd to him for having broke off the Match with *Spain*, which King *James*, contrary to his usual Practice, had undertaken without their liking. *Buckingham* had been so artful as to perswade them, that the Deference he had for their Opinions had prevail'd with him to disappoint an Alliance which was disagreeable to them, and which they were apprehensive might be of fatal Consequence.

His Arts.

1625.

*Unhappy
Intrigues.**Impeach-
ment.**Parliament
refuses
Supplies.*

sequence to the Protestant Religion. But the Differences between that Haughty Favourite and the Earl of *Bristol*, Ambassador at the Court of *Spain*, during that Negotiation, unhappily discover'd some Secrets, which undeceiv'd the Parliament. The Duke was a Man of Intrigue, and the Audaciousness of his Attempts sometimes drew him into Inconveniences. That he made upon the Dutchess of *Olivares*, whom he durst presume to acquaint with a Passion he either had, or pretended to have for her, cost him dear, as is well known. The greatest Misfortune was, that that Intrigue help'd to break his Masters Measures towards the Marriage of the Prince. The Earl of *Bristol* had given intimation of that Practice of the Duke's, so ill becoming a Person entrusted with such a Negotiation; and *Buckingham* had his Revenge, by causing him to be recall'd from his Embassy. The Earl suppress his Resentment, as long as he thought the Season was not proper to obtain Satisfaction; but as soon as King *James* was dead, he laid hold of the Opportunity of the Master's being chang'd, to attack the Favourite, whom he charg'd with several Misdemeanors in the first Parliament the new King assembled; and among the rest, of having contriv'd the Match with *Spain*, in order to restore the Catholick Religion, instead of breaking it off out of any Zeal for the Protestant. The Earl was in the right, for *Buckingham* was always well inclin'd towards the true Faith, notwithstanding the looseness of his Life; and his Master being of the same Mind, one of their main Designs in contracting an Alliance with such a Catholick Monarchy, had been to dispose the Affairs of *England* to an entire Re-union with the See of *Rome*. The Pope and the Prince had writ to one another, upon occasion of the Dispensation requisite for that Marriage. A less Matter would have serv'd the Earl of *Bristol* to Impeach the Favourite of High Treason in the Parliament held under the new Reign.

The King was much surpriz'd at it, *Charles* was as much inclin'd to Peace as *James* had been; but of an Age that made him less averse to War. Being engag'd to declare against the House of *Austria* to procure the Restitution of the *Palatinate*; he thought his Honour concern'd in so doing as soon as he had ascended the Throne, and consummated the Marriage, which had been

been put off on account of his Father's Death. The Parliament before the Decease of King *James* had promis'd as much Money as was requisite for that Enterprize; but none had yet been rais'd. King *Charles* press'd for it, and hop'd they would out of hand settle sufficient Funds to answer the Sum promis'd, when he was peremptorily given to understand, that he must expect none, till the Duke of *Buckingham* had answer'd to such Things as were laid to his Charge in Parliament. This short Answer surpriz'd the Prince, and much more the Favourite. The latter did all he could to allay those Hears, and made use of the Method which had been so successful with King *James* to amuse the Parliament. He there inveigh'd against the Catholicks, to show he was no Favourer of them, but it avail'd him not. The Catholicks were persecuted, but yet the Prosecution against him did not cease. The Matter was drove so far, that it oblig'd the King to Dissolve the Parliament, without any Supply granted to carry on the War he design'd to engage in. However, he enter'd upon it at his own Expence, and on the Credit of his Friends, but with ill Success. Having begun to attack the House of *Austria* in *Spain*, and caus'd a Descent to be made at *Cadix*, his Troops were there roughly handled, and forc'd to retire, with considerable Loss of Men, and more of their Reputation.

Dissolv'd

This Disappointment heightned the Complaints against the Favourite, and began to indispose the Minds of the People towards their Sovereign. However the Duke was nothing dismay'd: but to retrieve that Disgrace, form'd another Project, the Success whereof he fancy'd so sure, that he resolv'd to command the Forces appointed for that Service in Person. Being employ'd by the King in all Things of Moment, he had been sent into *France* to conclude the Match. The Duke had been look'd upon in that Country as an agreeable Courtier, which made him not esteem'd as an able Statesman. He had miscarry'd by endeavouring to please, and his intrigues with the Women had now drawn him into some personal Inconveniencies, very prejudicial to the publick Affairs; besides that he had Commission to make an Overture, which was not approv'd of; and was an Alliance against the House of *Austria*, which King *James* had before in some measure insinuated. Cardinal *Richelieu*,

1626

Buckingham in France.

lieu,

1626.

Causes of
War with
France.

Parliament
again dis-
solv'd.

Rich. who then govern'd *France*, had too many Enemies at home to make any abroad. Being threatned with a Civil War, he had no mind to engage in a foreign one. Besides, tho' that great Politician had already laid the Design of lowering the House of *Austria*, he thought it most expedient to begin by suppressing the *Hugonots*, who were still powerful in the Kingdom, and he meditated the Siege of *Rochel*. These Reasons obstructing his giving Ear to the Duke's Proposal, the Match, which was too far advanc'd to be broke off, was concluded; but the League took not effect. The Duke conceiv'd such an Aversion against that Minister, that he privately combin'd with his Enemies to destroy him, bringing upon him from *England* the Foreign War he had been apprehensive of, whilst the Party that was averse to him in *France* rais'd another against him at home. The Noise of the Preparations made some time after, for the Siege of *Rochel*, furnish'd the Duke with a proper Opportunity to retrieve the Reputation his Master and he had lost at the *Cadix* Expedition. This was the Motive that engag'd King *Charles* in that War, notwithstanding his Affection and Complaisance for the Queen his Wife. *Buckingham*, having made sure of the King, did not believe the Parliament ought to obstruct him. He fancy'd a War upon *France*, in Favour of a Protestant Faction, was an Enterprize too much to the Relish of the Nation, to leave him any Place to question the Parliament would forget the Hatred they had conceiv'd against him, that so they might wholly apply themselves to the settling of the necessary Funds for that War. Being full of this Notion, he began by ingaging in the Affair: He order'd the *French* Merchant Ships to be insulted in the Channel, and caus'd most of the Queen's Catholick Servants that came out of *France* with her, to be sent back, upon pretence, that they transgress'd the Laws of *England*, out of Zeal for their Religion.

These violent Proceedings produc'd the Effect the Duke expected in *France*. Orders were given for Reprials on the *English* Merchants, and the King thus provok'd, sent the Marshal de *Bassompierre* to demand Satisfaction for the late Breach of the Articles concluded upon the Marriage of his Sister. The Duke, who had procur'd the Parliament to be assembled in the mean while, thought to have been as successful there; but

was

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was deceiv'd: Tho' that Assembly was compos'd of quite different Members from the former, yet they proceeded on the same Grounds. They approv'd of the Persecution against the Catholics, and positively refus'd to grant the Supplies demanded to carry on the War, till such time as the Duke should answer the Impeachment brought against him. This Obstinacy in the Parliament, to prosecute the Favourite again, provok'd his Master, and mov'd him once more to dissolve them very abruptly, ingaging a second time to carry on the War at his own Expence, and with no better Success than the first. The Duke who commanded the Army, was defeated at the Isle of Rhe, which he would have possess'd himself of, returning home with Loss and Dishonour. It is easy to guess how all England look'd upon him at his Return; but the King continuing the same in regard to him, it was resolv'd between them to relieve *Rochel*, besieg'd by King *Lewis* the 13th, the following Year. They concluded the Protestant Religion's being attack'd in one of its principal Fortresses, would be a powerful Motive for the Parliament to grant Money. It was conven'd, and something granted at first, but upon such Terms as were hard in themselves, and no less fatal in their Consequences; King *Charles* then first beginning to strip himself of the main Prerogatives of his Crown to comply with his Enemies, who abusing his easy Temper, insensibly drew him on to put the Supream Power into their Hands, which they made use of to the Destruction of himself, and Ruin of his Family. It was at this time they made him give his Assent to the Act call'd *the Petition of Right*, importing among other things derogatory to the Royal Authority, that it should not be in the King's Power, either to banish, or imprison any Person, without acquainting him with his Crime.

1626.

1627.

1628.

Isle of Rhe

Petition of Right.

Nor did the Parliament stop there; but having thus curb'd the Master, next bent their Force against the Minister, still urging that he should answer to such things as had been laid to his Charge. Hot Speeches were made against him, and in that Heat the Prince himself was not spar'd. The *House of Commons* proceeded so far in that Insolence, as to silence the King's Attorney General, who would have spoke for him. This Outragiousness oblig'd the King to dissolve the Parliament

Insolence of the Commons.

1629. 11. 11.

1628.

ment again. He still prosecuted the War, but with the same Success. The *English* were twice repuls'd from before *Rochel*. *Buckingham*, who had not been there the first time, was preparing to command the *English* Fleet the second, when he was murder'd by one *Felton*, a sort of Mad-man. However the Fleet put to Sea, tho' it was only to see the Rebels reduc'd, after several Efforts made in vain to relieve them, and being repuls'd with such Loss and Confusion, as drew all those Clamours upon the King himself that had been formerly against the Favourite.

1629.

The King was complain'd of, but not yet hated; nor had it been yet impossible to settle a good Understanding between his Subjects and him, had there been more Art and Management made use of to reclaim them; but those Ways were then little known in the Court of *England*, where a haughty Spirit prevail'd, which it was believ'd might be held on with the less Danger, in regard they were more plausibly deceiv'd by a false Appearance of Quiet at home, occasion'd by the Peace then concluded with *France*, and soon after with *Spain*, by which the Restitution of the *Palatinate* was referr'd again to the way of Treaty, which put an end to it at *Munster*. The Joy conceiv'd for the Birth of a Prince of *Wales* in the Year 1630, and of a Duke of *Tork* three Years after, added to the aforesaid Mistake.

1630.

1633.

Discontents in
England.

Nevertheless, tho' nothing appear'd in publick, yet the dissolving of three Parliaments successively, and the Dishonour of the *English* Arms in three unfortunate Expeditions, lay so heavy at the Hearts of the Nation, that there was no removing them, without some powerful Medicines, which were not apply'd. And so far were they from healing these Distempers, that they rather heightned them, by the Resolution they seem'd to have taken to call no more Parliaments, but to make a shift without them; and the more by the Ways and Means they found to get Supplies; the King causing several Duties to be rais'd on Forests, on Commodities, and on the Inhabitants of the Sea-Ports, who he pretended were immediately annex'd to the Crown, and independent of the Parliament; all which nevertheless met with Opposition, and at several times gave Occasion to Mutinies.

In Scot-
land.

The Discontents in *Scotland* were no less than in *Eng-land*. Besides the Refusal of certain Dignities to some

of the Great Ones, who thought they had a Right to them; the King, to increase his Revenue, and consequently stand the less in need of a Parliament, had wrested from abundance of Scots Lords, the Benefices they had unjustly seiz'd on during the Regency of the Earl of Murray, notwithstanding the Parliament of Scotland had incorporated them in the Crown immediately upon the Schism. This Proceeding, tho' altogether Legal, according to the Protestant Law, if there can be any Right in Sacrilege and Usurpation, had nevertheless expos'd the King to the Hatred of the Scots Nobility, and made most of the Great Ones his Enemies.

1633.

Discon-
tents in
Scotland.

Such was the ticklish Posture of Affairs in the British Monarchy, when the Archbishop of Canterbury put the King upon a Reformation of the Church, which prov'd the Ruin both of Church and State. Next to the Duke of Buckingham none ever had so great an Ascendant over that Prince as this Prelate; and in regard of his Personal Qualities, no Man deserv'd it better. William Laud is said to have been a Man, who ow'd nothing to his Birth, and very little to Fortune; that is, he was meanly born, and tho' rais'd to such a Height, his Fortune was scarce equal to his Merit. His Capacity, Sense and Probity were singular. Such as do him Justice agree, that he meant well in what he undertook so ill. It is hard to decide, whether his Virtue was so untainted as to carry no mixture of Self-Interest along with it, and whether the Ambition of being Head of the Churches of three Kingdoms, did not interfere with those Political and Religious Motives, which mov'd him to attempt the Uniting of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Sects. It was no hard Task for him to ingage the King in an Affair, he was already but too well dispos'd to.

1634.

Archbishop
Laud's
Character.

It was King Charles's Misfortune to be a Divine. He had once an Elder Brother, in whose Life time the King's Father had design'd him for a Churchman, and bred him a Scholar, in order to be Archbishop of Canterbury. A King that studies Divinity, generally dives deeper into Religious Matters than is convenient for the Good of the State. This was the Case of King Charles, who was otherwise well inclin'd to favour the Archbishop's Design, out of his Hereditary Aversion to the Presbyterians; as well remembering the Instructions he

1634.

had receiv'd from his Father upon that Subject. Besides that he was fully prepossess'd in favour of Episcopacy, which he look'd upon as an Essential Part of Religion, and so absolutely necessary to the Crown, that he was wont to say, the Bishops were his Right Hand. To this we may add, that weighing the Enterprize by the general Maxims, nothing could appear more adequate to the Rules of true Policy, than the reducing of the two Sects into one; Unity in Religion being one of the most solid Foundations of the Security of the State.

1635.

Prynne,
Burton,
and Bastwick.

These were the several Motives that induc'd King Charles to ingage the Regal Authority in supporting those Alterations Archbishop Laud undertook to make in the Protestant Religion, in favour of Episcopacy. I said before there had been considerable Advances in Scotland during the Reign of King James. Others were now newly made in England, where the Archbishop had order'd the Communion Table, which before stood in the middle of the Church, to be remov'd to the upper end of the Choir, as the more decent Place, and most agreeable to the Institution by Queen Elizabeth. This and the like Alterations, together with some hot Disputes about the keeping of Sunday, and the manner of Preaching Predestination to the People, had incens'd the Puritans, some of whom had writ, not only against those Innovations, but against the Bishops themselves that were the occasion of them. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who could influence the Pens of the Learned, and the King's Power of the Sword, caus'd those Libels to be answer'd, and the Authors to be punish'd, which for some time put a stop to that Licentiousness in writing. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, three of the most famous Authors had their Ears cut off, and were committed to Goal. This Severity, as it gave a Check to the Writers, so it much incens'd the whole Sect.

*Insurrections
about
Religion.*

It is dangerous exerting of Authority to the utmost Point: The more Men have been made tractable by Fear, the readier they are to shake off the Yoke through Spight and Despair. The Puritans had born with the several Attempts made upon their Sect impatiently enough in reality, yet without breaking out into open Rebellion. The Resolution taken at this time to put in Execution what had been Projected by King James, touching the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Establishing

ing the *English* Liturgy in *Scotland*, occasion'd an I^{re} 1635:
 surrection among the Sectaries of both Kingdoms, which
 afterwards involv'd all parts of the State, and was pro-
 perly the immediate Cause of the Revolution I have now
 in hand.

That Liturgy had always been disagreeable to the Cal- 1636.
 vinists, as declar'd Enemies to all Ceremonies, which Changes in
 they pretend are inconsistent with the Purity of Divine the Litur-
 Worship, and the Spirit of the Gospel. In the Reign of
 of Kind *Edward* the VIth. after the Duke of *Somerset*,
 who was the first Contriver of that Book, had caus'd it
 to be authoriz'd by Act of Parliament, in the Year 1549,
Bucer being then invited into *England* by Archbishop
Cramer, and having writ over to *Calvin*, acquainting
 him with the Condition he found the Reformation in,
 that Arch-Heretick complain'd, that they had left all the
 Mass in the *English* Liturgy, and advis'd *Bucer* to re-
 cece from the Compliance he had till then practis'd in
 the Reformation of the Churches. So great was the
 Deference paid to *Calvin*, that most of those things he
 found fault with were put out of the Liturgy, and the
 Parliament approv'd of that Curtailing in the Year
 1552. *Queen Elizabeth*, who lov'd Ceremonies, re-
 stor'd those the Calvinists had abolish'd under King *Ed-*
ward, and the Parliament complying with any Religion
 but the True, confirm'd that third Alteration with as
 much ease as it had done the two former. The Calvi-
 nists made a great stir, but being as yet weak in *England*,
 and standing in need of the Queen to support them in
Scotland, there was little regard to their Complaints.
 King *James* succeeding *Queen Elizabeth*, and having
 been bred up among the *Scots* Puritans, they thought
 he would have favour'd them in *England*, and made Ap-
 plication to him against the *English* Liturgy. By much
 Importunity, in the Year 1603, they prevail'd on him
 to alter some Expressions which were most offensive to
 them; but that was all they could obtain. From that
 time forward, King *James* entirely consenting with the
 Bishops, and the Episcopal Party, the Presbyterians,
 among other Mortifications, had that of seeing the *En-*
glish Liturgy daily become more remote from the Puri-
 tan Spirit, by the Addition of Ceremonies, and particu-
 larly in the Reign of King *Charles*, especially after *Laud*
 was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Whilst these Re-

1634



gulations were confin'd to *England*, where the Presbyterian Sect was not the Establish'd Religion; there was no farther Opposition than murmuring; but all Moderation was laid aside, when it was known, that the King and the Archbishop, grown bolder than King *James* had been, did not only resolve to establish that Liturgy in *Scotland*, but that they had inserted into the Copies sent thither some things, which render'd it still more conformable to the *Roman Mass*.

Exceptions
against the
Scots Li-
turgy.

In short, to render the Liturgy the more acceptable to the Body of the Scots Nation, always jealous of its Immunities, it was resolv'd, that it should differ in some Particulars from that which was us'd in *England*, and that it should be contriv'd by the Scots Bishops. How ever all that being done by the Direction of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Difference made was not at all acceptable to the Nation, and utterly incens'd the Sect; in regard that, as I said before, that Copy of the *English* Liturgy was more like the *Mass* than the Original.

1637.

Mutiny at
Edin-
burgh.

This Insurrection broke out in *July*, 1637. The King had some time before caus'd the Liturgy we speak of to be approv'd in his Council of *Scotland*. The Proclamation had been publish'd in the Capital of that Kingdom, without any Appearance of Commotion; but it was one of those hidden Fires, which taking hold without being perceiv'd, in some private obscure Place, produce Conflagrations the harder to be extinguish'd, because they have made the greater Progress before they are discover'd. The Spirit of Rebellion possess'd it self of the Minds of the People, under that Mask of Submission; the Ministers blew the Coles on all sides, and having for some Months kindled the Fire with such Art and Secrecy, and render'd it the more fierce, and intense from the first Original, it broke out in a furious manner on a Sunday appointed for reading of the new Liturgy. The Bishop of *Edinburgh* had like to have lost his Life. The Earls of *Windsor* and *Roxborough* narrowly escap'd being ston'd and torn in Pieces. The Lords of the Council having somewhat quell'd that Commotion, by suspending the Use of the new Ceremonies, it was agreed to acquaint the Court with the ill Consequences of their Publication.

The lofty Answer the Court return'd to the Council, the Threats to the Ministers, and the Punishment inflicted on the City of *Edinburgh*, might perhaps have daunted the Ministers, and the Rebellious People, had not the Malecontent Nobility joyn'd them on the one hand, and the *English* Puritans put them in hopes of powerful Assistance on the other. These had a greater Interest than was imagin'd; that Sect being insensibly become almost as formidable in *England* as it was in *Scotland*. It got footing here in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when after the Death of Queen *Mary*, the Preachers she had banish'd returning from *Geneva* and other Places infected with *Calvinism*, brought it over with them. The Profession they made of living conformable to the pure Word of God, which got them the Name of Puritans; the Disinterestedness they affected; the Aversion they show'd to the Bishops living in Grandeur, and the Spirit of Liberty they glory'd in, and insus'd into the People, deluded very many, who being bent upon Innovation, or as yet uncertain which Party to espouse, amidst so many Errors, found this Sect more agreeable to their Temper than any of the others. Queen *Elizabeth*, who at first did not care what Religion they were of, provided they were not Catholics, suffer'd the *Calvinists* to settle, without obstructing them; but they gave her a great deal of Trouble, by their opposing the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. She sometimes complain'd of them very heavily, saying, *She well knew what would satisfy the Catholics, but that the Puritans confounded her.* She therefore from time to time enacted severe Laws against them. However that Queen being always Superior enough not to fear them, she never did them much harm. King *James* treated them much after the same manner; and tho' he foresaw they would in time be able to do Mischief, he disturb'd them not for Fear of making himself uneasy; thinking it enough to give his Son a true Idea of them, and advising him to root them up, whilst he himself permitted them to increase. He thought it would not be too late to attack, and destroy that Sect in the Reign of his Successor, King *Charles* was of the same Opinion, but was deceiv'd, and when he thought he had only the Scots Presbyterians to subdue, found them supported by the *English*, who began to form such a Party as was dangerous to the

The History of the Revolutions in England,

1677.

Regal Authority, not only as to Numbers of Men, but of Persons of Distinction, who underhand follow'd their Sect, either professedly, or for the sake of Faction. They were not sufficiently prepar'd to throw off the Mask at the Time I speak of; it requir'd some Delay to unite their Forces. Thus it was not in their Power to do any more than to encourage the Brethren in *Scotland* to stand resolutely to their Rebellion; and putting them in Hopes of the more powerful Assistance from *England*, in regard that the Nation in general having been long dissatisfy'd with the Court, as well as the Sect, seem'd to be dispos'd to Revolt upon the first Opportunity that should offer.

Clamours

against the

King.

The *Scots* seeing themselves so strongly supported on all sides, slighted the King's Threats, and his Ministers Declarations. No sooner was the Answer from the Court come, but a confused Cry of many thousand Voices was rais'd, declaring all was lost, for that the King, not satisfied with invading the Liberties and Properties of the two Nations, did design to lay a heavier Burden on their Consciences, by imposing a Change of Religion.

Popery the

Pretence.

These Clamours had not prevail'd upon all Sorts of Men, or render'd the Government so odious as the Malecontents could wish, unless they had also insinuated, that the King was promoting of Popery, and would impose it upon his People. Nothing was more false than that Accusation. King *Charles* was a Protestant by Inclination, and never lov'd the Catholicks; yet that Report, tho' false, had some Resemblance of Truth, which made it be easily credited. We must do the Queen so much Justice as to declare, she was ever zealous for the restoring of the Catholick Religion in *England*, and for the King her Husband's Honour: Yet it cannot be deny'd, but that she sometimes follow'd that Zeal in a more lofty manner than suited with the Times. Being full of that Spirit which warms the Blood of absolute Monarchs, whose Subjects require no other Reason for their Wills but that they are so; she did not well consider, that she reign'd in a Country, where the most solid Reasons do not always make the People conformable to their Governours. Such a limited Authority, as was not to be us'd without Art, seem'd to the Queen no better than Servitude, which caus'd her to make the utmost Efforts

to rescue the King her Husband, and deliver her self from it. Thus, little regarding the nice Temper of the Nation, she always kept about her a Nuncio of the Pope's, to whose Character or Function no Person at Court was a Stranger. She entertain'd Correspondences with the Catholick Lords, without taking any Care to conceal them. She stood up for every Thing that regarded the Church with Authority, and sometimes with Heat; and having a considerable Number of Clergy Men about her, who had been restor'd to her by the Peace, and whose Discretion was not equal to their Piety; she had frequent Controversies with the zealous Protestants, wherein the King, who lov'd her, gave her full Liberty, and when she requir'd it supported her. This Behaviour of the King's towards the Queen had made it suspected that he was not a thorough Protestant, whatsoever he could do to be thought so; and the Zeal wherewith he promoted the Archbishop's Design confirming that Jealousy, gave his Enemies a good Ground to accuse him of being a Catholick, and of contriving in Concert with that Prelate to re-unite *England* to the See of *Rome*. *Laud* on his part behav'd himself in such manner, as to administer some Show of Probability to that Jealousie.

I know not where the Abbot *Sini* found what he delivers without the least Probability, concerning that Bishop's Intrigues with Cardinal *Barberine*, for putting a Price upon his Conversion. That Writer is not always a sure Guide to be rely'd upon in History. All Mankind is now agreed, that *Laud* was, as well as his Master, a Protestant, very zealous for his Sect, yet there was then some Ground not to be altogether of that Opinion, on Account of that Prelate's strict adhering to Ceremonies; of the Advice he gave the Students, rather to read the Fathers than the Protestant Divines; of his refusing to receive the Synod of *Dort*; and of the Conduct of the Earl of *Strafford* in *Ireland*, who was strictly united to him, and the Confidant of all his Designs. That Earl was an able Man, and of singular Resolution. The King himself has left us the Portraiture of him in a Book where he gives his own. There that Prince represents him as a Genius of the first Rank, whose wonderful Capacity, so the King expresses himself, might rather make a Prince afraid, than asham'd to employ him

Earl of
Strafford's
Character.

him in the greatest Affairs; he being furnish'd with such sublime Qualities, as make those to dare, and to perform much, whose Projects are attended with Success, and whose Merit is favour'd by Fortune. He had been a hot Parliamentarian, when but *Sir Thomas Wentworth*; the King drew him over by making him an Earl; and he owing his Promotion entirely to the Archbishop, devoted himself wholly to him. That Prelate had obtain'd for him the Government of *Ireland*; in hopes he would promote his Designs; and the Earl perceiving that *Laud* was going about to set the Presbyterians upon the King, had rais'd an Army in that Island to maintain the Royal Prerogative; and tho' he was a Protestant as well as his Master, and his Friend, he had done the Catholics the Honour to believe them better affected to their Prince than the others, and so had compos'd his Army of them.

*Puritans
Mutinous.*

Much less would have serv'd the Rebels to make the Presbyterian Cause common to all zealous Protestants, and to draw into their Cabal even those that were not of their Sect. Thus that Party daily gathering Strength, they continu'd to conspire in *England*, till they were in a Condition to declare, and they broke out again in *Scotland* more furiously than they had done the first time.

*Why encour-
ag'd by
France.*

The English Historians complain that the new Fire was fed by Foreign Powers, and particularly charge Cardinal *Richelieu*. The Sincerity due to History makes it unlawful to conceal, that in the Revolution I now speak of, *France* sometimes lent a helping Hand to the wrong Side. I may without Prejudice to the Reputation of our Kings abandon their Ministers to the Censure of Foreign Historians. The mighty Confidence King *Leopold* the XIIIth. repos'd in the vast Capacity of Cardinal *Richelieu*, may have convinc'd all *Europe*, that the said Prince had very little hand in what that Minister did, towards supporting the Rebellion of the Scots against King *Charles* the II. King *Leopold* the XIVth. being in his Minority, when Cardinal *Mazarine* treated with the Protector to the Prejudice of King *Charles* the II. is sufficient to excuse that Prince for whatsoever was odious in that Treaty. The Father and the Son's Behaviour towards the House of *England*, after the Death of those two Men, took away all Grounds of suspecting the Sincerity

cerity of their Intentions. When our Masters are clear'd as to that Point, the Nation will be little concern'd for the Actions of their Ministers. But History being a Court where all Mankind has a Right to expect Justice should be done them, is not to suppress, as *English* Authors do, the Reasons that mov'd these two great Politicians not to favour the Royal Party of *England*, at all Times. I shall speak of the Second in the proper Place, I must here treat of the First.

I pass by the Memory of the Isle of *Rhe* and *Rosbell*, King when Cardinal *Richelieu*, being upon the Point of crushing the Remains of a powerful Faction, which had so long divided *France*, met with the unreasonable Opposition of the Arms of *England*. Something of a fresher Date had provok'd that Minister. In the Year 1637. the Cardinal and Prince of *Orange* had resolv'd to attack the Maritime Places in *Flanders* under the Dominion of *Spain*, and design'd to besiege *Dunkirk* and *Graveling* at the same time. For the better prosecuting of this Project, they had agreed that the Cardinal should prevail with the King of *England* to observe the Neutrality, without which they suspected the Success would not be answerable. The Cardinal was sufficiently acquainted with the Posture of Affairs beyond the Sea, to flatter himself that King *Charles* would be glad to enter into a stricter Alliance with *France*, since that Complaisance was to cost him nothing. To this purpose in November he dispatch'd the Count *D'Estrades*, with Orders to apply to the Queen of *Great Britain*, and endeavour to restore him to the good Opinion of that Princess, to whom he had been misrepresented; to the end she might use her Interest to prevail with the King her Husband to continue neuter; insinuating that *France* would stand by him at a Time of Need in those Troubles that then distracted his Dominions. Both the King and Queen receiv'd this Proposal with equal Contempt. However the Queen spoke to the King, who answer'd in a haughty manner, That it was not consistent either with his Honour or Interest to grant the Neutrality demanded; that he stood not in Need of any Man's Help to reduce his Subjects to their Obedience; and as for what concern'd the Places in *Flanders*, he would keep a Fleet ready in the *Dover* with 15000 Land Men. The Queen gave the Count this harsh Answer, and added, That as for

1637.

Cardinal
Riche-
lieu's Re-
venge.

for what regarded the Cardinal, she was acquainted with his Designs, that he was no Friend to her, and she expected nothing from him.

It is easy to guess what Effect that Refusal and Contempt had in the Mind of so powerful a Minister. The Misfortunes of the Court of England soon gave him an Opportunity to show his Resentment. There were two Scots at London during the time of the Count D'Estrades's Residence in that City, who having communicated to him the Posture of Affairs in their Country, and what a turbulent Disposition the People were in, at their coming away, he resolv'd to give the Cardinal an Account of that Adventure in the same Letters wherein he mention'd the ill Success of his Negotiation. That watchful Minister thought it not fit to let slip an Opportunity of finding a Prince Employment at home who threatn'd France. He lost no time, but answer'd the Count D'Estrades, he was glad he had discover'd the Sense of the Court of England, which might have given him much trouble had they known how to conceal it; and since it was known, they ought to make their Advantage of it. He bid him sound the two Scots he spoke of, and that as soon as they were agreed with them, he would send over to Edinburgh a Scots Priest whose Name was Chamberlain, his own Chaplain and a trusty Person, who should expect them there, and act by their Direction for the common Interest of the two Nations; adding, That it should soon appear he was not a Person to be despis'd, for before a Year were pass'd, the King and Queen of England should repent their having rejected his Offers. I know not whether he guess'd right at the King and Queen of England's Repentance; they did not seem to be sensible of the Mischief so soon, but the Delay made it the heavier, and more irretrievable.

Scottish
Insurrec-
tion.

The Cardinal's Intrigues fomented the Motions of the Scots Rebels, the boldest of whom form'd a Body, which notwithstanding the Inhibitions of the Magistrates, and the Diligence of the King's Officers, gather'd in several Parts, and became so formidable, that none durst appear to oppose it.

King Charles sent them repeated Commands to disperse, to go home, and to submit to their Bishops; declaring that those Prelates had done nothing but by his Order in publishing the Liturgy. Among the rest, the

Earl of Traquair went to them to *Sterlin*, where they were gather'd together, to conjure them in the King's Name to return to their Duty; but instead of perswading, he farther provok'd them; so that not satisfy'd with demanding the abolishing of the new Liturgy, they protested against the 5 Articles of the Synod of *Perth*, the High Commission Court, the Book of Canons, and even Episcopacy it self. Nor was this all, for whilst the Earl went back to give the King an account of the Posture of Affairs, they advanc'd to *Edinburgh*, where they enter'd into that famous League they call'd the *Covenant*; as it were the Compact, or Agreement between God and his Church, in Imitation of that he formerly made with his People, and the Race of *Abraham*. This was the Comparison they made; so bold is Hypocrisy to shroud the most Wicked Designs under the most Holy Outfides. The Parties ingaging in the *Covenant* sign'd an Instrument, which contain'd Three Principal Heads, The first was the restoring of a *Confession of Faith*, contriv'd in the Year 1580, against the *Doctrine* of the Church of *Rome*. The second contain'd a *Collection* of *Scots* Acts of Parliament for the Security of the *Reformation*. And the third was an Engagement to reject the new Ways of administering the Sacraments, the *Episcopal Government*, the *Ceremonies* brought into the Service of late; to defend the King's Person as far as he should defend *Religion*; to support one another against all those who should go about to alter the *Reformation* they had receiv'd from their *Fathers*; and for the Honour of that *Reformation* in their own Conduct, every one to reform his own Life, and the Manners of those under his Charge.

This seditious Proceeding deserv'd a speedy Punishment; but besides that King *Charles* had too much of the Good Nature of the *Stuarts*, it was his peculiar Fault never to make use of necessary Extremes, before he had made trial of several useles Precautions. Another thing was, he had no Money; for having obtain'd none of the Parliament of *England*, which had not met a long time, he got very little any other way, and even those Ways and Means he made use of to raise any were contested. Thus after some Time spent in deliberating, whether he should quell the Rebels by Force, or condescend to their Demands, which proceeded partly from his

The Cove-
nant.

1638.

The King's
Concessions.

1638: his natural Temper, and partly from Necessity, he resolv'd to try all Methods of Compliance for reducing of them to their Duty. To this Purpose he sent to them Marquis *Hamilton*, a Man of Parts, and acceptable to the Nation, where he held the highest Rank. The Lord omitted nothing that might gain them; and the King being as desirous of it as he, every thing was granted to oblige them to renounce their scandalous Covenant. The *Liturgy*, the *Book of Canons*, the *Five Articles* of the *Synod of Perth*, and the *High Commission Court* sell Sacrifices to Peace. The King carry'd the Indulgence so far, that many of the Confederates, so they call'd those who had sign'd the League, left them, and sign'd another Act call'd the *King's Covenant*, which came to nothing. Thus the first prevailing, as the last Token of the King's Compliance, they demanded a National Synod. The King granted it, and it was held at *Glasco* on the 21st of November, 1638; but this only serv'd, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of Marquis *Hamilton*, who presid'd for the King, for them to come to such Resolutions as were more opposite to the Regal Authority than those they had taken before. For there they determin'd the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, which was the most disagreeable Point to the King of all that had been contested.

Synod at
Glasco.

Voluntary
Contributions
to the
King.

1639

He raises
an Army.
1639.

The King perceiving that fair Means did only add to the Insolence and Obstinacy of the *Covenanters*, at last resolv'd to use Force to reduce them. Having decreed to Arm, he sought to get Money among his Friends; still holding his Resolution not to Convene the Parliament of England. Nor could he find Fault with the Zeal of his Faithful Servants upon this Occasion. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and most of his Brethren, who were more deeply concern'd in the Success of that War than others, since it was call'd the Bishop's War, contributed largely. The Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* gave also a considerable Sum; but none procur'd the King greater Supplies than the Queen, she having engag'd the Catholics to furnish most of the Charge of this Army. The King having got Money, rais'd Forces, and appointed their Rendezvous at *Norfolk*, whether he went himself in April 1639, after sending his Navy, under the Command of *Hamilton*, to cruise on the Coast of *Scotland*.

The

The Rebels, on the other hand, wanted neither Courage, nor Force to defend themselves. Alexander Leslie, an Officer who had learnt the Trade of War under the Great Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, had been one of the Contrivers of the Solemn League and Covenant. Having been refus'd some Preferment he had demanded, he went over to that Party, where being in great Reputation, he became one of their Chiefs, and was chosen General of the Forces against the King.

1639.
Leslie,
General of
the Rebels.

Both sides march'd eagerly enough, till they were within sight of one another; but when they came to that, they both found so many Reasons to prefer Peace before War, as willingly to give Ear to those who interpos'd for an Accommodation. The King and the Covenanters were equally inclin'd to it, but upon different Views. The King would have Peace because he lov'd it; the Covenanters were for it, hoping they should without any Hazard reap the same Advantage by it, as they could by the War, by means of the private Friends they had about the King, and whom that Prince employ'd in the Treaty. In short, those treacherous Agents, being most Presbyterians, and perceiving their Party was not yet sure enough of Victory, were afraid, if the King should get the better, that the Assistance of the Scots failing them, they must sink at once, and remain expos'd to all the ill Will that Prince seem'd to bear their Sect, to the Persecution of the Archbishops, and the Insults of the Episcopal Party. It was certainly upon this View, that they, abusing the disposition the King shov'd for Peace, contriv'd such a fraudulent Treaty, that neither side knew their own Articles, when it was made publick; and the King purchas'd some Formalities, and false Submissions, at the Price of a full Liberty he granted the Covenanters to attempt and do any thing against his Service, by allowing them a free Synod, and a Parliament to ratify its Decrees.

This vile Treaty being concluded about the Middle of June, and the Army disbanded, the King return'd to London, whilst the Earl of Traquair went in his Name to preside at the Synod, which was held in August at Edinburgh, and in the Parliament which follow'd soon after. No sooner was the King got home, than the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of his Party open'd

False Arti-
cles prin-
ted.

1639.

open'd his Eyes. He perceiv'd how he had been mislead, and was the more fully confirm'd in it, because the Synod of *Edinburgh* only confirm'd that of *Glasgow*, and abusing the Liberty granted it, to attempt yet farther, pass'd a Decree, obliging all the Nation to sign the Covenant. At the same time was publish'd a Paper, printed by order of the Covenanters, containing the Articles of the Peace; which being brought to the King, he openly protested, that the Articles were falsify'd, and order'd that Pamphlet to be burnt by the Common Hangman. The Parliament of *Scotland* was sitting when this fresh Provocation hapned. They complain'd of it, and began to enter upon many other Points; but the King did not allow them time, having order'd his Commissioner to dissolve them.

Preparati-
ons for
War.

No Man question'd but these mutual Discontents would soon cause the War to break out again. The King was fully resolv'd upon it, and thought he had all the Reason in the World to expect Success. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Friend the Earl of *Stratford* had put things into such a Posture as might render him formidable to his Enemies. Besides a considerable Sum of Money that Earl obtain'd of the Parliament of *Ireland* he had conven'd, he had prevail'd with the King to consent, that the Army of Catholics he kept up for his Service, and which were the only Troops that Prince could rely upon, should attend him in that Expedition. Chance had also offer'd the King an Opportunity, which he thought would certainly secure the *English* to him, remove all danger of convening their Parliament, and procure him considerable Supplies from them. This Advantage was a Letter from the Covenanters to the King of *France*, wherein they, pursuant to the ancient Amity between the two Nations, implor'd his Protection and Support, for the Defence of their Laws and Liberties, against their Oppressors. This Letter had been intercepted by the King, being sign'd among the rest by the Earl of *Lowden*, one of the *Scots* Deputies, and by the Earl of *Dunfermeling*, who was then in *London*, both which Earls were committed to the Tower; and the Letter produc'd in the Parliament the King had conven'd in *April* 1640.

Scots cor-
respond
with
France.

1640.

The King did not question but that such a Correspondence with a Foreign Potentate, and more particular-

ly with *France*, must appear to the Parliament as one of the most unpardonable of all Crimes. He represented it in the most heinous manner, and concluding with the Necessity of the War, demanded the Assistance of that Assembly, to defray the Charge, offering to purchase it with a solemn Renunciation of the Maritime Rights he pretended to. No sooner had the King ended his Speech, but he perceiv'd by the Looks of his Auditors, that he had not mov'd them. The Parliament remitted nothing of their constant Practice of opposing his Will. The Letter produc'd made no Impression on them, and the Earl of *Lowden* justify'd the Covenanters in such a plausible manner, by the Turn he gave it, and the Proofs he produc'd, that it had not been sent, that it all fell to the Ground at once, and was never more spoken of. As for the War with *Scotland*, the Parliament declar'd, that *England* did not look upon it as an Affair that concern'd them; but rather as an Incroachment on the Liberty of a friendly Nation, and strictly united to their own, that so the one might follow the Fate of the other. That touching what the King said of renouncing the Right of raising Money in the Sea Ports, it seem'd very odd, that he should require his People to buy off an Usurpation he had made upon them. All this tended to a Refusal of his Demand, which had not been as yet positively given, when a base piece of Treachery produc'd it, with all the most disagreeable Circumstances to the King. *Henry Vane*, a notable Traitor, was Secretary of State. A few Days after the Opening of the Parliament, the King had sent him thither to demand the Sum he had agreed in Council to require; still hoping that Assembly would not persist in its Obstinacy to the last. *Vane* had Orders to demand twelve Subsidies, so they reckon the Money the Parliament gives the King, each Subsidy amounting to near Fifty Thousand Pounds Sterling. *Vane*, as I said, had Orders to demand twelve Subsidies, but to fall to six, upon the least Opposition. That perfidious Wretch, who was already gone over to the King his Master's Enemies, insisted stiffly upon twelve, with a Design to provoke the Party, and succeeded so well, that the Parliament absolutely refus'd, and the King dissolv'd them.

1640.
The Parli-
ament im-
placable.

minister
nobles.

Vane's
Treachery.

Dissoluti-
on.

This

1640.
Scots in
Arms.

This fresh Misunderstanding between the King and his People puff'd up the Puritans of both Kingdoms. Those in *Scotland* had recourse to Arms again; the *English* repeated their Cabals, and the King soon found that the Contrivances of the latter did him more Harm, than the Arms of the former.

Eight
thousand
Irish serve
the King.

In short, were it not for the Plots of the *English*, the Power of *Scotland* had done him little Harm. He still found Forces enough. The Earl of *Strafford* sent him 8000 good Men out of *Ireland*, and had the *English* been Loyal, he might have rais'd more Troops than were requisite to subdue *Scotland*. Nor did he want Money, for his Friends once more supply'd the Defects of the Parliament.

Mutinies
in London.

He set out somewhat late from *London*, staying to quell some Mutinies rais'd about that Time against his Authority, and his Faithful Servants, in all Likelihood by the Presbyterian Party, then become powerful enough, as will now appear, to raise much greater Comotions than those in the Kingdom. *Rossini*, the Pope's Nuncio to the Queen narrowly escap'd being murder'd, and was oblig'd to depart the Kingdom; but no Man was nearer perishing in these popular Tumults than the Archbishop of *Camberbury*. The Puritans look'd upon him as their greatest Enemy, nor were they mistaken. He had very lately, whilst the Parliament was sitting, held the Convocation with his Brethren at *St. Paul's* in *London*, where new Canons had been made in Favour of Episcopacy, and Measures taken for extirpating of Presbytery in *England*. No Man question'd his being the Occasion of all the Contradictions they met with in *Scotland*, or the King's being influenc'd by his Friend and him in all the vigorous Resolutions he took to redress them. Among other things they were charg'd with having caus'd the last Parliament to be dissolv'd, for Fear they should oppose, as was reported they intended, the War that was then in hand, which it was believ'd the King undertook by their Advice. It is likely that a Paper at this Time posted up in *London*, stirring up the Apprentices to burn the Archbishop's Palace at *Lambeth*, was the Product of the continual Mortifications the Cabal receiv'd from him that then own'd it. He was set upon one Night in his House by that Rabble, who would infallibly have murder'd him, had he not stood upon his

Guard,

Guard, and had Men about him, who repuls'd the Assaultants so vigorously, that they had no Mind to renew their Efforts.

This was only an Essay of the Puritans, whilst they waited an Opportunity for a more decisive Attempt, to abolish the Regal Authority, with which both the Bishops and Episcopacy were to fall. I say the Regal Authority, not the Person, and Dignity; for so much Right must be done the Presbyterians we speak of, as to declare they did not design to carry on the Villany so far; and that in the infamous Work, which is the Subject of this Book, they only prepar'd the Victim, which another more bloody Sect Sacrific'd.

To begin with what relates to them; the renewing of the War, having set their Heads a working afresh, the Faction's Party study'd how to make their Advantage, whilst the King prepar'd to take the Field. That Party daily increasing, concluded they should find Confederates enough in the Army to corrupt some Branch of it; whilst those they had at Court improving the Delays, on the Disadvantages that Corruption of the King's Troops might produce, would easily prevail upon that Prince, naturally addicted to Peace, and weary of a troublesome War, to consent to a second Accommodation, into which they might be in a Condition to foist all such Articles as might conduce to bring about their Designs. According to this Project they drew their Scheme; first to oblige the King to call a Parliament, which they were able to fill with Members that were in their Interest; and secondly, to contrive that the Army in *Scotland* should be kept on Foot whilst the Parliament sat, under colour of terminating all their Differences with the King in that Assembly; but in Reality to support all its Attempts upon the Sovereignty. The Success of their first Contrivances render'd the latter infallible.

The Preliminary Part of the War was so disadvantageous to the King, through the ill Conduct of one part of his Troops, that before he could reach *Tork*, the Enemy were Masters of most of the *North of England*. *Conway* had been sent with 3000 Foot, and *Wilmot* with 1200 Horse to secure the Passes on the *Tyne*. They had posted themselves at *Newburn*, where they thought *Lesley* would have attempted to pass rather than in any other

other Place. It fell out as they had conceiv'd; but another thing hap'n'd which they had not foreseen, and was, that their Troops made little Resistance. Their Infantry fled at the first Charge; the Cavalry stood longer, but was broken at last, *Wilmar* taken, the Pass forc'd, and then *Newport* enter'd. The Enemy possess'd themselves of *New-Castle*, *Dorchester* and other Places of Note.

*Strafford's
honest Ad-
vice.*

The *English* Presbyterians could not expect a more favourable Conjunction to bring about their Designs. The King was no sooner come to the Rendezvous, where he was to have begun the War, than he found himself under a Necessity to think of making Peace. It is true the Earl of *Strafford* thought that Necessity much less cogent than he did. That Great Man, who was to command the Army, was fully persuaded, that since the King under those Circumstances could make but a disadvantageous Peace, he ought to try the utmost Extremity of War. He offer'd to maintain it with his *best* Troops on whom he could rely; to whom if never so few *English* of known Fidelity were joyn'd, he could do well enough without those that were suspected, and undertook to repulse the *Scots* with only such as were Loyal.

*The King
rejects it.*

The King argu'd after another manner. He granted, as well as the Earl, that the Peace must needs be prejudicial to his Honour and Authority; but he imagin'd a Truce, under which he imagin'd both might be secur'd. He saw two discontented Nations, almost united together; notwithstanding their ancient Antipathy, to rebel against him; and believ'd, if he should content one of them, and joyn himself to it, the other would have no way left but to submit. Upon this Conjecture, he propos'd to contrive a Cessation of Arms, to call a Parliament during that time, in which he flatter'd himself he might gain the Affections of the *English*, effacing all the Jealousies they had conceiv'd against him, by extraordinary Compliances, Condescensions and Grants. So he says himself in his Book of Instructions before, where that Prince drawing his own Portraiture, professes he gives the Publick an Account of his most private Thoughts; protesting he had on his own Judgment follow'd that Method, tho' the most dangerous.

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

It was not he alone that contriv'd. The Puritans were more busy than he, and had already secur'd a number of Lords, most of whom were their own Creatures, to propose to him that Method to prevent the Civil War that threatened the Nation. The King having consented, assembled the Peers, and agreed with them, to make a Proposal to the Scots, who tho' in Arms did not forbear to present Petitions under the Name of Dutiful Subjects, for a time, during the which the Parliament should meet, and with the King's Consent, regulate all that seem'd convenient for the Peace of the two Nations, and the good Understanding between the Prince and his Subjects. The Scots held too settled Correspondence with the *English* Presbyterians, not to be of the same Mind with them. They only made their Protest, that in referring their Concerns to the Parliament of *England*, they did not mean in the least to prejudice the Independance of their own Nation; which having been sufficiently declar'd, a Place to Treat in was agreed on. The King would have had it at *York*; but *Lesley* would not consent, because the Earl of *Strafford* was there, at the Head of the Troops, and the Scots look'd upon him as their personal Enemy. The Town of *Rippon* was agreed on, whither Sixteen *English* Lords repair'd as the King's Deputies, but most of them of the Puritan Faction; as sufficiently appear'd not only by their Behaviour afterwards, but by the Treaty they concluded, which was no less fatal to the King, than favourable to his Enemies. *Strafford* oppos'd it all he could, and labour'd to dissuade the King from admitting the Conditions, which were no less prejudicial to his Honour, than destructive to his Authority. But that Prince finding himself in no Condition to hold on a vigorous Resolution, thought Necessary might excuse him for condescending. By this Treaty it was stipulated, that both Armies should be kept on foot; that there should be a Truce between them for two Months; that during the said time the Scots Army should receive 350 Pounds a Day, Subsistence, which they were allow'd to raise on the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and that on default of Payment, they might continue in those Counties, where they should have Winter Quarters.

*The King's
Reception
in Lon-
don.*

*Factions
Arise.*

*The King's
Speech to
the Parlia-
ment.*

The History of the Revolution in England,

The Hopes of Peace comforting the King, for the ill Success of the War, he return'd to London better satisfi'd, and summon'd the Parliament to meet on the 3d of November. He took the Reception he met with at his Return, and the Joy the People express'd to see him, as a good Omen of the favourable Disposition he should find in the Parliament to concur with him towards settling the Peace of the Nation. The Artifices us'd by the Puritans at the Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, gave him Cause to suspect and fear; but the Confidence he repos'd in the House of Lords, and the Resolution he had taken to purchase Peace by Concessions, recover'd and made him hope, that the Commons would become tractable, and show a Moderation suitable to his Condescension. This prov'd the most dangerous Mistake that Prince had yet been guilty of. The Puritans having made the Parliament their own, as being mostly compos'd of Members of their Sect, or Faction, were resolv'd to improve that Advantage towards pulling down that Authority which stood between them and the Sovereignty; and contrary to the King's Expectation, to encroach upon his Prerogative, according as they found themselves strong and him yielding.

Thus were Men dispos'd, at the opening, on the Day appointed, of that Bloody Parliament, as an English Author calls it, which Murder'd King Charles the First, and by a till then unparalell'd Revolution overthrew the English Monarchy with its Monarch. The King at their first coming together made a Learned Speech, and very proper to have gain'd them, had they been that way inclin'd. *The Troubles in Scotland, said his Majesty among other things, have been the Occasion of the Sitting of this Parliament, but the Confidence I have in you is the principal Motive, together with my Desire to give Satisfaction to the Complaints of some among you, touching several Points of Government. I am fully resolv'd to put my self upon your Affections, even as to those Things which regard my Self, and consequently much more in what concerns the Publick, wherein we have both an equal Interest. You will find such Sincerity and Frankness in my Proceedings, as shall remove all the Jealousy you have conceiv'd of my Design, and shall plainly perceive, that your Liberties were never safer under any Reign than mine. I only recommend two Things to your Consideration; The first, To find out the*

pro-

proper Means to drive the Rebels from our Frontiers, which they have so boldly invaded. The Second, to do it speedily, that the Northern Counties may not sink under the Oppression of two Armies, that live upon, and regard them as Securities to furnish all their Wants. In all other Respects, you shall find me so easy, and desirous to give you Satisfaction, that much Trouble will be sav'd, and the Time that would otherwise be spent in Debates may be employ'd in Executing what shall be agreed.

All the King's obliging Expressions to the Parliament in his Speech found but an indifferent Reception, in regard of the Resentment they express'd for his calling the Scots Rebels. His Majesty being inform'd of it, had the Goodness the next Day to soften that Word, by giving it another Turn. The ill Success his Compliance met with, ought to have immediately wrought upon him. Tho' some little Regard was had to his Person in their Answers to his Speech, yet they so boldly inveigh'd against the Faults in his Government, laying them all upon his Ministers, that all Men of Sense plainly perceiv'd, he was likely to render the Disease incurable by his Condescension, which had been occasion'd by his Steadiness. The Parliament becoming sensible of their Strength, as the King mistrusted his own, to render themselves the more formidable, were resolv'd to exert it, by discharging the three Seditious Writers the Archbishop had caus'd to be imprison'd. They were conducted along the Streets with much Pomp, in Triumphant Manner, attended by above Five Thousand of the People, and One Hundred Coaches to the Parliament House, where they were not only acquitted but commended, and extoll'd as Champions of the Publick Liberty.

After these first Proceedings, they incroach'd upon the King without any Modesty, or in the least tempering the continual Vexation they gave him, for near two Years together, that he patiently endur'd their Persecution in hopes of overcoming it at last, without any other Allay, but a few Supplies they granted him at the Price of his Prerogative, and some cold Thanks when they oblig'd him to part with the most valuable Flowers of the Crown. In which Particular it is hard to decide, who had the greatest Cause to blush, whether the King for always granting whatsoever his Subjects insolently demanded, or the Subjects for continually demand-

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ding that which their King was compell'd to grant. The Proceedings of the Parliament of *England* being of no Force unless consented to and ratify'd by the Sovereign, King *Charles* was oblig'd to become himself the Instrument of his own, and his Servants Ruin. The Persecution began with them; and the Catholics being always the first Victim that falls a Sacrifice to Publick Peace, they were now represented as greater Offenders than ever, for having furnish'd the King with Money to carry on the War against the Rebels of *Scotland*. Their Zeal for their Sovereign's Service was look'd upon as an unpardonable Crime. They had scarce so much Temper as to forbear prosecuting the Queen for having supply'd her Husband. Some intercepted Letters of her Majesty's were openly read in Parliament, wherein she exhorted those of her own Religion to supply the King with some Money for reducing of the Rebels. She was fain to excuse, and the Records were search'd for Precedents of Queens that had been brought to Tryal. Considering the Humour the Parliament was in, and the Temper of that Prince, it is very likely, that had it not been for the Regard that Body then had for *France*, the Queen might have produc'd some extraordinary Scene, to serve as an Introduction to the King's Catastrophe. After such bold Strokes, it was not at all surprizing to see the Archbishop, and the brave Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* committed to the Tower, for High Treason, because they had been Loyal to their Master. *Matthew Wren*, Bishop of *Normich*, was also committed, but let out upon Bail. *Windelybank*, Secretary of State, and *John Finch*, Keeper of the Great Seal, withdrew, the first into *France*, the other into the *Low-Countries*. They were both Summon'd, and proceeded against. The Archbishop and Lord Lieutenant were both Executed, but the first of them much later: The Earl's Fate was hasten'd, by a Plot some of his Friends, and the King's Faithful Servants were accus'd of contriving, to rescue him from the Tower, and put him at the Head of the Trusty *Irish* Army, in order to deliver the King from the Slavery he was under. *Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, *Jermyn*, *Willmot*, *Appurathan*, and others, were prosecuted on account of that Attempt. The King himself was suspected, and very near being charg'd with it as a Crime. It was an unpardonable Offence in the Earl of *Strafford* to have

Design to
rescue
Strafford:

attempted an Escape, and from that time they press'd for his Trial. No Pains were spar'd to make him guilty, and yet all the Artifices of his Enemies could not bring it about; but it was resolv'd he should be so. Thus none of the Misdemeanours laid to his Charge being sufficient, or well enough prov'd to reach his Life, it was resolv'd to pass Sentence for Accumulative Treason, by putting together several Accusations to form one Crime; a sort of Proceeding never before heard of, and which they then declar'd should never be a Precedent; and tho' the King oppos'd it, making a Speech in his Behalf, he was condemn'd to Death. *His unjust Condemnation.*

The King had never made much Difficulty of passing any thing the Parliament demanded, till they brought him that unjust Sentence. He oppos'd a long time, notwithstanding the Multitude, set on by the House of Commons, Mutiny'd to compel him, laying aside all the Respect due to his Person, and using rude Expressions to his Face. Some he took for his Friends, but who were then betraying of him, made a greater Impression, advising him to comply with the Cries of the People, and the Authority of such a Court as the Parliament of England. Some Judges, and even Bishops declar'd he might Lawfully do it: The Earl himself was so generous, as not only to consent that he should do it, but even to press him earnestly and often, by learned, and repeated Letters. In which Case it may be said, that Self-Love seduc'd that Great Man, by bending his Thoughts so entirely upon performing an Heroick Action, as not to reflect that he advis'd his Master to one that was beneath a King. *The King* *compell'd so consent.* *Juxon, Bishop of London, Bishop Juxon's Integrity.* gain'd a Reputation, which ought to be render'd immortal in History, by always advising that Prince, to follow the Dictates of his Conscience, which was averse to the Signing of a Sentence, on any Pretence whatsoever, that he thought Unjust. And the King blam'd himself for it as long as he liv'd, looking upon that Weakness as the Cause of all his Misfortunes. In short, That Sin was one of those which carry their Punishment along with them, and naturally produce it abstractly from the Remorse of Conscience, and the Chastisement of Heaven. It is not to be believ'd, how much this Action heightned the Insolence of the King's Enemies, emboldening them to demand whatsoever was most Prejudi-

1640. judicial to his Interest. His Friends knowing he had a solid Foundation of Justice in him, which render'd this Compliance the more Disagreeable to him, rather pity'd than blam'd him; but Time made it appear, that even a good Master, who has been once found to forsake his Servants, finds few that will stick by him, when he is forsaken by Fortune.

1641. After the King had Sign'd the Earl of *Stratford's* Death, he made a fresh Effort to save him, sending a most moving Letter to the House of Lords, to desire the Penalty might at least be chang'd, and that instead of taking his Life, they would rest contented, that he might spend the rest of it in some reasonable Confinement, where he could hurt no Body. The Prince of *Wales* carry'd the Letter, and the Lords consented to it; but the House of Commons bore the Sway, and it had so often appear'd that there was no Opposing them, without worse Consequences, that they being obstinate in their Resolution, none durst contradict them. The Prince return'd, *re infecta*, and the Earl was Executed on the 12th of *May*, 1641. He Dy'd like a Great Man as he had Liv'd. A Catholick Writer of that Time, did not rightly consider, when he said, he Dy'd like a True Christian. He Dies not like a True Christian, who Dies not in the True Church. That Lord's Enemies, to make him odious, accus'd him with having favour'd it in *Ireland*, but it is certain he did not own it, and Dy'd in his Error.

Scots The Cabal believ'd the King's Authority was not sufficiently Depress'd, by destroying his Friends, unless they also heap'd Praises and Rewards on his Enemies. The Parliament gave the *Scots* no other Name but that of Brethren; the War they had made against the King, having chang'd an Antipathy of Fifteen Hundred Years standing into a strict Union. Tho' they had their Deputies at *London*, to take Care of what concern'd them, they were spar'd the Labour of Solliciting. The Parliament did more than they could have done themselves to oblige the King to Ratify the Decrees of their Synods, in Relation to the Extent of the Covenant, the Suppressing of Episcopacy, and many other Particulars, which had been the Occasion of the War. Their Army was kept on Foot till *August*, that is, till the Parliament found themselves Strong enough to Act without it; and

as a farther Acknowledgment of the good Service done by those Troops, they were allow'd Three Hundred Thousand Pounds for the Charge of the War, besides their Pay. It was farther order'd, that all Proclamations, and Declarations let out against them should be made void, and of no Effect; and to Crown all a Publick Thanksgiving was appointed in all the Churches of London for the happy Conclusion of the Peace.

At the same Time that they thus cherish'd the King's Enemies, they stripp'd him of his Revenues, his Authority, his Prerogative, or rather compell'd him to part with all; by Passing whatsoever they impos'd. Thus he consented to yield up all the Duties his Predecessors had till then rais'd without the Concurrence of the Parliament, and which they had always look'd upon as a Branch of the Sovereignty. The Judges were Punish'd, who had given Judgment for the King, in Tryals between him and the People concerning those Duties. The Courts, whose Jurisdctions regarded him more than others were Suppress'd. They compell'd him to pass an Act for Triennial Parliaments, which oblig'd him to call them every Three Years; and in Case of Failure on his Part, the Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster were Impower'd to Convene it, and they to be actually Incapable of serving those Employments, if they omitted so to do. In short, That Parliament, which was so eager upon Unkinging of him, prevail'd so far as not to be Dissolv'd without the Consent of both Houses, which should continue Sitting as long as they should think it convenient for the Publick Good.

This last Step was the fatal Stroke that drove the King upon his Ruin, and which he could never recover. All Mankind was so surpriz'd, as to believe there must be some Politick End in it. The general Opinion was, That he did not Grant so much, but in order to Revoke all; and that he underhand was preparing for War, that the Sword might cut all those Knots he made with the Pen. He clears himself of this Imputation in his Book, as a Proceeding quite opposite to the Sincerity he profess'd. That Book was compos'd at a Time, when it was his Interest to speak after that Manner, tho' in Reality the Matter had been otherwise. He was a Prisoner in the Hands of his Enemies, and at their Mercy,

*Elcon Ba-
silike.*

yet

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yet not wholly despairing of an Accommodation; so that it was of the highest Consequence to him to remove all Jealousy of any double Designs. It plainly appears that Book was compos'd to be read by others besides his Friends.

So that the said Book is not a Convincing Argument of the King's being so Impolitick, as he would appear to have been, to be thought Sincere. Upon weighing all the Reasons *Pra* and *Contra*, considering that Prince's Temper, and his Way of Expressing himself, I am inclin'd to allow of his Sincerity, to the Prejudice of his Policy; and that it is true, as he assures us, that when he pass'd that Act, he had no other View, than what he had from the Beginning, which was to purchase Peace of his Subjects by Favour and Condescension; never considering, that the Favours he granted left him no more to bestow, and that such a Confidence in his Enemies could have no other Effect, but to embolden them to Wrong, and impower them to Hurt him.

Audaciousness towards the King.

There was more Reason to believe, a while after, that he had some Design in a Journey he undertook into Scotland, during the Session of Parliament. He had then labour'd Eight Months in vain to gain upon the Rebellious Minds of that Assembly, by an unlimited Goodness and Condescension. He had done more for them, than ever the Boldest and most Jealous Parliaments thought of demanding of any Prince. Nothing would content them; every Day produc'd fresh Demands, the granting whereof was so far from obtaining any Acknowledgment, or Gratitude, that the only Return was in Publick Complaints, and Private Raileries, wherein his Condescension was attributed to Weakness. He plainly perceiv'd, that by their Way of Behaviour towards him, unless he alter'd his Methods with them, he must at last be reduc'd to think himself happy, if they would allow him the Name of a King. In short, One of the Cabal asking another, what more they could ask of a Prince who had granted them so much; the other with an unheard of Insolence answer'd, They expected he should lay down that Authority he had made an ill Use of, and put himself entirely upon them. The King was sensible that was their Design, and that all their Steps tended no other way. As long as he saw Things in any Probability of being kept within the Bounds of

Mode

Moderation by several of the Peers, and even by some Well-meaning Persons in the House of Commons, who were only led away to oppose him by the Spirit of the Nation, and the Conceit of their Liberties; he had flatter'd himself, that being resolv'd in that Particular to grant more than could well be ask'd, they would at last be satisfy'd. Time had now manifested, that he had less Cause to fear the Genius of the Nation, than that of the Presbyterian Sect, which had so far prevail'd by its Artifices, as to rule the Parliament. The Puritans had gain'd the Multitude, the Apprentices, and all that makes Mutinies formidable in great Cities. They dispos'd of them at Pleasure, and made use of them when they had a Mind to pass any Law, to extort the Votes of those that did not concur with them, and even the King's Assent. A considerable Number of Honest Men being hereupon withdrawn from that Assembly upon several Pretences, those who remain'd found themselves under a Necessity, either through Weakness to consent to that which in their Judgment they condemn'd, or else to bear the Penalty of their Uprightness in such Injuncts as afterwards serv'd to colour their Frailties. In the Case of the Earl of *Strafford*, the Names of Fifty Nine of the Worthiest, and Sobereest Persons in the Two Houses had been set up on the Gates at *Westminster*, and other Publick Places, to expose them to the Brutality of the People, because they would not consent to Condemn a Man they believ'd to be Innocent. The greatest Malice was against the Bishops, who were thought to be firm to the King; and those Prelates could not go to the House, without Danger of being Murder'd by the Rabble, who had affronted several of them.

*Danger of
being Loy-
al.*

Thus the Puritan Faction had almost gain'd the Sovereignty in Church and State. The Church of *England* was quite chang'd, and knew not its own Liturgy, so great an Alteration had been made in it. The Hierarchy was daily threatned with Ruin, by the Measures taken for abolishing of Episcopacy. The King was tormented on all Sides. He had no longer the Liberty of bestowing Employments in his own Household, but was often compell'd to confer them on his Enemies. The Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord *Maltravers*, Eldest Son to the Earl of *Arundel*, had a Contest in the House of Lords, on Account of a Letter this last read there. The Earl

*The King's
Friends
persecuted.*

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Queen of
France in
England.

French
apply to
the Parlia-
ment.

accusing him, that he did not read right, *Maltravers* gave him the Lye, whereupon *Pembroke* giving him two Strokes with his Rod, they were parted, and committed to the Tower: The King took the Business in Hand, and the Earl being one of his most profess'd Enemies, he was glad to have this Occasion of taking from him his Office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household; but was oblig'd to bestow it on the Earl of *Essex*, whom perhaps he did not so much mislike, but who, as Time show'd, was as little to be Trusted. The Favour the King show'd to any Man, was look'd upon as a sufficient Cause to persecute him. The Catholicks he bore with, because they were Serviceable to him, had never been more Molested. The Queen's Servants were every Day brought upon the Stage, and it was not out of any Respect to their Mistress, or the King, that they were not proceeded against to the utmost, but in Regard to *France*, which they thought proper to keep fair with; and even that Management was the Effect of the Parliaments Opposition to the Court, which still continu'd very averse to *France*, or rather to the Minister that govern'd it. All Things conspir'd to heighten this Dislike. The Intrigue in *Scotland* had been known. *Mary of Medicis*, who had withdrawn herself to her Daughter the Queen of *England*, was an Object that render'd the Cardinal odious, without speaking. Those who had follow'd that Queen, and besides them the Duke of *Vendome*, *Monfieur de Soubize*, the Duke *De la Valette*, and several other Malecontents, who were then together in *London*, did not endeavour to Reconcile Things. The Dutchess of *Chevreuse*, who was busy Contriving in the *Low Countries* how to Molest that Minister, held much Correspondence with those Princesses; and it was not question'd in *France*, but that so many Disgusted Women would Conspire to Unite the King of *England* with the House of *Austria*, whose Ministers had daily Conferences with the Queen's, and the King himself was often present.

That Maxim of the Gospel, which prescribes doing Good for Evil, being very little practis'd among Politicians, Cardinal *Richelieu* was not so favourable to the King of *England*, as became the Strict Alliance betwixt the two Kings, and the very Honour of Royalty. There was yet no Open Breach. There were reciprocal Amba-

baf.

ambassadors on both Sides; but those of *Spain* in *England* had so great an Interest at Court, that the *French* were necessitated to apply to the Parliament, which was the more favourable to them, as having made it their Rule to oppose their Prince in all Things.

This Spirit of Contradiction, which was not to be mollify'd by so much Condescension, had put it into the King's Mind, that since he could not be Belov'd, he must put himself into a Condition to be Fear'd; that it was in vain to be yielding, for as long as he was weak, that same Weakness would render his Goodness no way Advantageous to his Quiet, and in the End Destructive to his Crown.

Upon this Consideration, wherein all his Friends agreed with him, he resolv'd to change that Method of Indulgence, and Condescension, into Steadiness, and a Behaviour more becoming the Crown; but being sensible, that Courage and Resolution, if not supported by Strength, only serve to Fall more Nobly, he endeavour'd to gain a Party that might be able to oppose the Parliament. He was sure of several Noblemen, some of whom had firmly adher'd to his Fortune, others out of a Sense of Justice were fallen off from the Adverse Party, and only waited an Opportunity to declare for him. The Commons themselves were not so thoroughly debauch'd, but that there were some Honest Men, that abhorr'd the extravagant Proceedings of the Puritans. *Gourney*, the Lord Mayor of *London* was for the King, as were the *Catholicks*, for whom the Queen undertook to answer. Besides, the King was persuaded, that the Prince of *Orange*, who was his Son-in-law, and Rul'd all in *Holland*, would assist him in a Time of Need. There was also good Ground to hope well from *Ireland*. Thus he perceiv'd that his Friends being united, would be able to form a Powerful Party against his Enemies, provided he could but diminish the Number of them, which was grown too Great by the Union of two Nations.

Whilst his Thoughts were thus employ'd, the Deputies of the *Scots* to the Parliament of *England*, having obtain'd all they could expect from that Assembly, were Projecting to prevail with the King to go hold their Parliament at *Edinburgh*, to Ratify all he had Granted them there. It is easy to believe, that under the Circum-

What
Friends the
King had.

The Scots
invite the
King.

1641. *circumstances* the King then was, he did not require much intreating. Being well pleas'd with that Opportunity of regaining the *Scots*, he promis'd to undertake that Journey, and acquainted the Parliament of *England* with his Intention. This Message made a great Noise among them, and they conceiv'd the more Jealousy, because the Queen, on the other Hand, design'd to go beyond the Sea, under Colour of going to the *Span*, with her Mother, who was return'd into *Flanders*.

*Practices
to stop him.*

The Parliament exclaim'd against both Journeys, and left no Stone unturn'd to obstruct them. The Queen desisted from hers; but the King declar'd he would set out. Several Remonstrances were made to him, and Preparations to use Force to stop him. The Business had been concerted with the Apprentices, but the Consideration, that if the King was already engag'd with the *Scots*, the Stopping of him would only serve to Incense them, and hasten their Breaking with the Parliament, prevented their Proceeding to that audacious Violence. They only intreated the King to put off his Journey for a Fortnight, because they were actually setting out to Disband the Armies that were on the Frontiers, and it was not proper for him to meet with that of *Scotland* in his Way. The King understood their Meaning, and perceiv'd they sought their own Security, under Colour of providing for his, as fearing he might in his Way gain the *Scots* Forces. He would not therefore yield to them, and granted but two Days instead of a Fortnight, ordering his Retinue to be ready by the Third. Neither would he consent to the Request they made him, under Pretence of dispatching Business, to appoint the Earl of *Essex* his Commissioner for Passing of Acts. But that they might not have Cause to complain that his Refusal put a Stop to their Proceedings, he appointed Seven Lords, who by Plurality of Votes should pass such Acts as they thought he would Consent to himself, and the Earl of *Essex* was one of that Number; but the Parliament perceiving that Commission would be of no Advantage to them, by reason of the Character of those Persons whom the King entrusted, they would not admit of it. Hereupon the King left them, and having taken his Leave of the Queen, who retir'd to *Oakland*, with the Princes and Princesses, he set out for *Scotland*.

*He sets
out*

in August. In his Way he saw the two Armies, which were not Disbanded till some time after, and paid him great Honour. A Scots Writer says, he sounded some of his Country Officers, in order to prevail with them to gain their Troops to his Party, to be employ'd in Reducing the Parliament of *England*, and this the said Author represents as a Crime, in that Prince, equal to what all other Nations in the World would have reck'ned it in Rebellious Subjects, that should have attempted to Debauch their King's Army; so much do the People of that Island differ from all the rest of Mankind.

King *Charles* met with such a Reception at *Edinburgh* as gave him Cause to hope his Journey would prove Successful, and the more he advanc'd in Business, the more his Hopes increas'd. It is true, that at the Opening of the Parliament they oblig'd the Lords belonging to the Court who were to sit there to Sign the Covenant; but the King being resolv'd to grant every Thing to gain their Affections, he made no Difficulty of Consenting to it. A Panick Fear seiz'd Marquis *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, upon a Report spread abroad, without any known Author, that there was a Design to murder them and other Lords of the Country. The Suspicion was maliciously cast upon the King, as some pretended, by the Emissaries of the *English* Parliament. This Accident, which oblig'd those Lords to absent themselves for a few Days, caus'd some little Commotion; but was a Storm that blew over of it self. No Man could believe the King guilty of so vile an Action, which was sufficiently disprov'd by his Character, and Upright, and Frank Behaviour, without standing in Need of any other Apology. So that Trouble was soon over; the Clouds vanish'd, and the Lords return'd. However the King could not forbear letting *Hamilton* know that he resented his Entertaining such an Injurious Opinion of him. He put him in Mind, that he had taken a quite opposite Course with him, when being inform'd that he had Designs against his Person, he had made him lie in his Bedchamber. This Reproach was a great Confusion to *Hamilton*, and agreeably redoubled by the fresh Favour the King granted of raising him to the Dignity of a Duke, at the same Time that he Created *Lestey*, Earl of *Leven*. That General was so surpriz'd at an Honour he had

*False Re-ports a-
gainst
him.*

*He obliges
the Scots.*

1641.



had so ill deserv'd, and had so little reason to expect, that in a Transport he protested, he would never bear Arms against so good a Master. The extraordinary Liberties that Prince granted the Nation working the like Effect upon the Main Body of it, those were declar'd accursed that should presume to raise Forces without Orders from the King; and they all solemnly promis'd never to take up Arms against him.

Returns to
London.

King Charles believing he had done a great Matter in depriving the Parliament of *England* of the Support of the *Scots*, which had made them so Insolent, return'd to *London*, and came thither at the beginning of *December* full of Hopes that he should find the People more Calm and Submissive. The Multitude seem'd to be so by the Reception they gave him, which was the most Pompous and Magnificent in Acclamations, and Expressions of Joy, that ever any King had met with; but the Presbyterian Cabal that prevail'd in the Parliament, was quite of another Mind. The Compliance of *Scotland* made them apprehensive that the same might soon happen in *England*, and that a General Peace being settled in both Nations, their Sect would by Degrees lose all the Advantages it had gain'd by the Confusions; that the Design they had laid of making it the Governing Religion in *England* as it was in *Scotland*, and which by their Industry was so far advanc'd, would stop in the midst of the Career; and the Church of *England*, which sunk with the Royal Authority, would again recover its Vigour. This Apprehension prevailing, and being fully resolv'd to use all their Arts, and employ their utmost Interest to obstruct that Peace, which they thought threatned them, they had in the House of Commons, without acquainting the Lords, drawn up a Libel in the Nature of a Remonstrance, wherein pathetically exposing the Miscarriages in the Government, which they ascrib'd to his Ministers, without taking any Notice of the Remedies apply'd to many of them, they indirectly made such a Satyr upon his Person as was fit to expose him to Publick Hatred more than ever.

Scandalous
Remon-
strances.

Irish Re-
bellion.

An Accident altogether unforeseen, great in it self, and of extraordinary Consequence, was one Main Point of this Libel, and added much to its Bitterness. The *Irish* Catholicks oppress'd by the *English* Protestants had laid

laid hold of the Opportunity of their Confusions, to shake off the Yoke; and having conspir'd against them with wonderful Secrecy, after Slaughtering a great Number of them, had almost made themselves Masters of the Island. God, who gives no Blessing to Designs so opposite to the Spirit of the Church, order'd that the Capital City, *Londonderry*, and some other Places should not fall into the Hands of the Conspirators. They were in Danger, and it was propos'd to Relieve them; but it was not yet done, tho' the King had been inform'd of that Accident, before he left *Scotland*. The Conspiracy, and the Slowness in sending Relief, were two main Articles of the Male Administration set forth in the Seditious Remonstrance.

The King was at *Hampton Court*, Treating the Magistrates of *London*, who had express'd so much Affection for him at his Return, when the Deputies of the House of Commons brought him that Libel, with a Petition, containing the Heads of it, wherein they apply'd to him to curb the Papists; to exclude the Bishops from Sitting in the House of Lords; to limit the Power of the Clergy; to abolish the Ceremonies in the Liturgy; to remove such of his Ministers as were suspected by the Parliament; to put no others into their Places without their Approbation; and lastly, that he should Relieve *Ireland* with all the Speed that pressing Necessity requir'd.

Parliament Demands.

The King had now alter'd his Method, and was resolv'd by his Refusal, to put a Stop to the indiscreet Demands the Parliament continually made. However he receiv'd them with his usual Goodness, and after promising he would examine their Petition, in order to comply as far as was consistent with the Good of the Nation, courteously desir'd them, not to cause the Remonstrance to be Printed; alledging, it was not convenient to set up the People to judge of the Prince, by such Papers; that it could only serve to increase the Troubles, which he was willing to appease; that it was requisite to put an End to the Divisions that had so long distracted them, and suppress all fruitless Complaints, in order to find effectual Means to redress the Publick Grievances.

The King's Answer.

The Fear of heightning the Troubles, was an ill Motive to incline those to Moderation, who found

The History of the Revolutions in England,

their Advantage in Dissention. Very few Days pass'd before the audacious Remonstrance of the House of Commons was publish'd. The King, provok'd at that Proceeding of theirs, set out a sharp Answer to it; wherein, after recounting what he had done towards redressing the Grievances complain'd of, with a sincere Intention to satisfy the People and the Parliament, he evidently demonstrated, that no Man was so desirous of Peace as himself; that to purchase it, he had stripp'd himself of the greatest and ancientest Prerogatives of the Crown, and therefore the People were to look no where for the Causes of those Civil Broils, but into the wicked Designs of those, who were for shaking off the Yoke of the Sovereign Authority, in order to subvert the Religion, and the Government.

*The Five
Rebellious
Members
demanded.*

This unusual Steadiness of the King, was so far from daunting the Cabal, that they rather made fresh Efforts to bring their Project to bear. The King's late Reception in *London*, had made the Factious Party apprehensive of losing the Multitude. A Report was also spread abroad, that the City Officers, following the good Example set them by the Lord Mayor, were become Royalists. These Reports and Fears made the Rebels apply themselves afresh to gain the Meaner Sort of Citizens, the Rabble, and such of the Magistrates as they had been most apprehensive of losing. There were new Intrigues, new Complaints, and new Jealousies in every Corner of the City, and within a few Days, Men's Heads were more buzy than ever. The King, being inform'd of it, and told the Names of some of those who were most Notorious for sowing the Seeds of Rebellion, resolv'd to exert himself in an Action of Vigour, tending to the Parliament, whereof they were Members, to demand they should be secur'd, and put upon their Tryal, as Seditious Persons who disturb'd the Government, had occasion'd the Rebellion of *Scotland*, and still made it their Business to set him at variance with his Subjects. Viscount *Mandeville*, Son to the Earl of *Manchester*, otherwise call'd, Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of the House of Lords; *Hollis*, *Hastlerig*, *Pym*, *Stroud*, and *Hambden*, of the House of Commons, were the Persons against whom the King demanded Justice; but in vain. Those Firebrands were too dear to the Puritan Faction to be forsaken at a Time of Need. The King being however

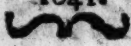
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The King
goes to de-
mand them.

resolv'd to push that Point home, concluded to go him-
self and demand the Five last of their House, and com-
mit them to Prison. He went thither, attended by his
Nephew, the Young Elector *Palatine*, and many Per-
sons of Quality, whom he left at the Door, lest there
might be an Occasion to say, he had offer'd Violence to
the Parliament. He went in with only the Elector,
and took the Place of *Lenthall* the Speaker, who being
ask'd by the King, whether he did not see the Five
Members he was come to Impeach, had the Impudence
to answer, that he saw nothing there but what the House
would have him see. The King look'd about for them
himself, but to no purpose; for they had been told of
his Design, and kept away. Several Persons were ac-
cus'd of betraying his Majesty's Secret. It was most ge-
nerally believ'd that the Countess of *Carlisle* was the
guilty Person, she being an Intriguing Woman, who
having been much addicted to it in her Youth, on ac-
count of her Beauty, could not forbear in old Age by the
Help of her Wit.

There is no expressing what Clamours the Cabal rais'd Tumults
against the King on account of this Attempt, and what and False
seditious Commotions were the Consequences of it. The boods.
Court was in a Consternation, and the King oblig'd to
make some sort of Satisfaction. Yet nevertheless the
Tumults daily increas'd. The King could not appear in
the City of *London*, but the People cry'd about him, *The*
Privileges of the Parliament, *The Privileges of the Parlia-*
ment. The Meaning of it was, as the Puritans spoke more
plain in all Companies, that he had invaded their Privi-
leges. This Insolence went so far, that one *Walker*, a
Minister, threw a Libel against him, into his Coach.
The Rabble came down, in a Tumultuous Manner, and
very Numerous, to his Palace, to affront him to his
Face, whilst the Parliament, pretending they were not
safe at *Westminster*, withdrew into the City, to increase
the Tumult, demanded a Guard, and refusing that the
King offer'd them, took another, that was devoted to
the Faction. In the mean while a Thousand False Re-
ports were spread abroad, concerning the King's Designs
upon the City, most of them Extravagant, and Incre-
dible, and yet believ'd; having the same Effect to stir
up the Multitude, as if they had been never so likely.
They said, the King was preparing to come with the

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Papists to murder all the Protestants. Forces were pretended to be seen already, Digby and Langford were at Kingston with a Body of Horse, and only waited for Orders.

*The City
arms.*

These false Reports given out daily in the Houses, and proclaim'd at Night in the Streets, put the City of London into such Dread and Confusion, that nothing was to be seen every where but arm'd Men, *Corps de Guard*, Intrenchments, Barricades, Chains across the Streets, and such like Preparations to repulse the King's Forces. That Monarch's faithful Servants being fearful for his Safety, came to offer him their Service. The Students in the Inns of Court, where the Young Gentry study the Law, signaliz'd their Zeal towards their Prince, offering to be his Guard. Thus the King, who had also a considerable Number of Friends among the Prime Men, and even in the House of Lords, was enabled, without Danger of Surprise, to make Head in his Capital City against the opposite Faction, whose Insolence daily debauch'd some unthinking Persons from his Party. Many were then, and still are of Opinion it was his best Course to withstand them there.

*The King
for with-
drawing.*

The King himself was not of that Mind. Grown weary of so much Contradiction from those who ought to have obey'd him, he concluded, that removing himself at some Distance they would fear him, and in Case they should at last oblige him to have Recourse to Arms to subdue them, he should find more Friends in the Country than in London. On the other Hand, being always extremely averse to a Civil War, and willing to avoid giving any Occasion of being made the Author of it; he fancy'd, that if he withdrew slowly and by degrees, he should give the Mutiniers Time to consider better than they had done, and those who lov'd the Publick Good, to find out some Expedients, which he would always be ready to consent to, provided the Parliament would contribute any thing towards Peace; and that whatsoever hap'n'd, all England would by his last decisive Proceedings be made sensible to whom they ought to attribute all the Mischiefs of the War that threaten'd them.

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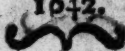
Upon these Considerations, about the Middle of January, 1642. King Charles departing London, withdrew

drew to *Hampton-Court*, with the Queen, the Prince of *Wales*, and such of his Household as were not Members of Parliament. Wise and Honest Men durst not blame him for having secur'd Majesty from the Insults of a Rabble that was govern'd by his Enemies; but they could not without lamenting the Misfortunes of their Country, behold that Separation which foreboded them. The Presbyterian Cabal, and their Party, were not concern'd at it, being resolv'd to reduce the King to that despicable Condition they had projected, and to leave only the Shadow of a King, after stripping him of all Regal Power; which if they could not compass by Peace, they were not displeas'd at a War; and therefore they immediately began to take such Measures as might render it successful. Thus, instead of seeking Means to appease their provok'd Monarch, as soon as ever he had left *London*, the Five Members of the House of Commons he had accus'd, were brought back in Triumph, with inexpressible Acclamations and Applause.

After these Tumultuous Commotions, which are always the Effect of new Turns in Affairs, both Parties again fell to Business; neither being willing that the Publick should charge them with the obstructing of it. Each began to manage according to their Genius, and Designs; the King like a Prince drove to Extremity, and resolv'd upon War, yet still as one, on whom an Excess of Goodness prevail'd to Sacrifice much for the Sake of Peace; the Parliament, like a Tyrannical Power, determin'd to extort from the King's too great Condescension, and Inclination to Peace, all that could be purchas'd by a Successful War; yet so as rather to try War than to yield the least for Peace.

Pursuant to this Scheme, it was resolv'd in the King's Cabinet Council, that the Queen should go over into *Holland*, upon pretence of Conducting the Princess Royal to the Prince of *Orange* her Husband, and at the same Time to Negotiate the Supplies of Men and Money there might be Occasion for; that the King should retire to *York*, there to make his first Levies, and seize the Magazine at *Hull*; but that he should proceed slowly, to allow Time for Negotiation, and, if possible, bring back the Parliamentarians to their Duty, by gentler Means, than Force of Arms. They easily divid into

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the Designs of the Court, and were not surpriz'd at them. The Queen's Voyage, which might have given them some Jealousy, and which it was thought they should have obstructed, rather put them in Hopes of compassing their Designs with more Ease; being fully perswaded, that the Opposition they had of late found in the King, contrary to his Natural Disposition, was the Effect of that Princess's Council, and once she was gone they would compel the King to purchase Peace at their own Rate. Upon these Considerations they resolv'd to proceed to the utmost in their Demands.

More Informant Demands.

The King was still at *Hampton Court*, when, on account of the Troubles in *Ireland*, the two Houses press'd him to give them the Power of the Militia, and the Disposal of Governments; in Testimony, said they, of his Sincerity, that he intended to punish the *Irish* Rebels, and that some Reports spread abroad, of his having rais'd that Rebellion, to set *Ireland* against *England*, were false and groundless. It was no hard Matter to see into the Scope of that Proposal, and what the Consequence would be, had the King consented to it. That being a nice Point, and the Reports spread abroad of his Majesty's holding Correspondence with the *Irish* Catholicks, having some Appearance of Truth, tho' they were actually False, he granted all he could in favour of the Expedition then in Hand against the Revolted *Irish* Catholicks; but as for the Power of the Militia, and the Disposing of Governments, he rejected that Part, as an In-croachment on his Authority, which could never have been thought of, but by such Persons as design'd to rob the Crown of its most Essential Prerogatives.

French Mediation rejected.

Upon this new Contest the King went away to *Wind-sor*, where the Differences increas'd, the Marquis *De la Ferre Imbault*, afterward *Mareschal D'Estampes*, then *French Ambassador in England*, thought it was Time to give a Check to those Disorders which were like to become Fatal to a King. *France* was desirous to Support, notwithstanding it was willing that some Disturbance should obstruct his Joyning with *Spain*, as he was naturally inclin'd, and the whole Faction advis'd him. A proper Opportunity had been long expected, to perswade him to accept of the King his Brother-in-law's Mediation; to the End, that looking upon that as an

Obligation.

Obligation, he might not favour the Enemies of *France*, when reconcil'd to his own. The Marquis concluded that was the proper Moment, and the King seem'd well pleas'd with his Care, when he went to offer his Service. Two Things obstructed the Success; The one, That the Presbyterian Cabal allowing of no Abatement in the Proposals made to the King, signify'd to the Ambassador, that a Mediation which tended to any such Overture would be disagreeable to that Party, and that the bare proposing an Accommodation which they were not inclin'd to, would render *France* suspected; The other, That the said Minister was inform'd, the Court took private Measures so to order Affairs, that the King might not be oblig'd to *France* for the Peace. Thus after some Advances, and Journeys between *London* and *Windsor*, the Mediator desisted, and the Contentts grew hotter than ever. Soon after, the King made one farther Step, which seem'd to promise the putting an End to them, and was his Condescending in a Point he thought would fully convince the Parliament of his Desire to Content them.

The Puritans had Two Things chiefly in View, the Abolishing of Episcopacy, and the Circumscribing of the Royal Authority. About the same Time that they were incroaching upon the Prerogative of the Crown, as has been said, they gave an Attack upon Episcopacy, which I must now take Notice of. I have already mention'd, how the Rabble us'd to insult such Members of Parliament as were suspected of being in the Interest of the Court. The Bishops were known Favourers of the King, and his Prerogative, and accordingly the Multitude, upon all Occasions, Reproach'd, and Affronted them. After frequent Threats, they had been several Times very near putting them in Execution. Some of them had been roughly handled, and others had their Lawn Sleeves torn. Grown weary of this Usage, the Archbishop of *York* and Eleven of his Brethren resolv'd to forbear going to the House, entering their Protestation, that whatsoever was Transacted should be void, since they were compell'd by open Violence to keep away. This Protest seem'd to provoke the Party; but, on the other hand, it is likely many were pleas'd with it, who thence took Occasion to asperse the Prelates, and to contrive, till they could proceed farther, to

The Bishops
attack'd.

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Exclude all the Bishops from Sitting in Parliament. Some Contest there was about it; but at length it pass'd; the Bishops who had protested were secur'd, and all Excluded the House of Lords. It had been often propos'd to the King, to pass that Bill, which he had till then refus'd, but at last consented. The Court, being on the Way to *Dover*, where the Queen was to Imbark, lay then at *Canterbury*; as if God had design'd to humble the *English* Bishops in the Original Seat of their Episcopacy, which they had corrupted by their Schism, and so many several Errors.

*The King
goes to
York.*

This Action of the King's in Compliance with the Parliament, gave Cause to believe, either that he was resolv'd to refuse them nothing, or that they had agreed to ask no more; and consequently Peace was expected; but in vain. The Matter of the Militia, and Governments could not be adjusted. The Queen Imbark'd, and Sail'd over into *Holland*. The King set out for the *North*, with the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, his Sons. He spent much Time in his Progress, making some Stay at the Houses of *Theobalds*, and *Newmarket*, and came not to *York* till the latter End of *March*. During the King's Journey, and for Three Months after his Arrival at *York*, the Negotiations were continu'd, and always to no Effect, through the Obstinacy of the Parliament; or rather the Policy of the Cabal, which was resolv'd to ingross the Sovereignty. The more the King granted, the more obstinate were his Enemies; and the farther they went the higher they carry'd their Pretensions. They drew up Nineteen Articles, which they presented every Time there was any Talk of an Accommodation, and whatsoever could be done there was no perswading them to recede from thence.

*Insolent
Proposals
to him.*

The Chiefest of these Articles were; That all such as were of the Council, the Secretaries of State, and Ministers, should surrender their Posts to others the Parliament should approve of; That these should take such an Oath as the Parliament should administer, and when any of them hap'n'd to die, if the Parliament were then Sitting, their Consent should be ask'd for supplying the Place; but if it hap'n'd during a Recess, the rest of the Council should by Plurality of Votes Elect a proper Person to succeed him; That no Order of Council should be of Force, unless Sign'd by the Major Part of them;



them; That the Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great-Seal, the Master of the Horse, in a Word, all the Great Officers, all the Judges, all Governours, should be Chosen with the Approbation of the Parliament, who was also to have the Disposall of the Militia, Garrisons, Sea-Ports, and Magazines; That no Person the King should for the future raise to the Degree of a Peer should have a Vote in the House of Lords, without the Consent of Both Houses; That the Catholick Peers should be Excluded, and their Children taken from them, to be Educated in the Religion of the Country; That the King's Children should not be Marry'd without the Parliament's Approbation; That the Laws in Force against Catholicks should be put in Execution; That the King should consent to such a Reformation of the Liturgy and Church Government, as the Parliament should order, by the Advice of able Divines; That the King should dismiss the Guards he had newly rais'd; That he should by Publick Act clear the Five Members of the Lower House he had accus'd; And that he would please to deliver up to the Justice of the Parliament all those they should think guilty of having disturb'd the Publick Peace.

It is easy to guess by the Nature and Consequences of these Proposals, with what Indignation they were receiv'd by the King, and how much his Just Anger was provok'd against the Cabal, every Time they presented them. It was not he alone that took Offence. Part of the Parliament it self, being asham'd to be Members of an Assembly, where such Insolence against the Lawful Sovereign was promoted, forsook them, and went away to him. Then was the King's Court augmented by the Accession of the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Dorset*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Devonshire*, *Northampton*, *Berkshire*, *Bristol*, *Newcastle*, *Westmorland*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Carnarvon*, *Newport* and *Dover*; the Barons *Maltravers*, *Willoughby*, *Rich*, *Howard* of *Carlton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Shandoys*, *Faulconbridge*, *Pawlet*, *Lovelace*, *Savil*, *Coventry*, *Dunsmore*, *Mohun*, *Grey*, *Seymour* and *Capel*. Several Members of the House of Commons follow'd the Example of those Lords, and repair'd to the King. *Littleton*, the Keeper, sent him the Great-Seal his Majesty had entrusted him with, and came himself.

Now

*Rebels
seize Hull,
and the
Navy.*

Now it plainly appear'd that Provision must be made for War, the Desertion of those above-mention'd having no way abated the Audaciousness of the prevailing Party of the Parliament. Some Time was still spent in Proceedings, Declarations, and Overtures for Peace, during the which the Parliamentarians showing less Defiance to their Prince than he had for them, took some Advantages, that prov'd very Prejudicial to his Affairs, and to his Party. For whilst he was Treating with them about the Disposal of the Garrisons, Forces and Revenues, they entering upon Action, seiz'd *Hull*, a Fortress of much Moment both for its Situation and its Arsenal; made themselves Masters of the Navy, and secur'd the Money design'd for *Ireland*; so that when the King came in Person to *Hull*, *Hotham*, sent thither privately by the Parliament, refus'd to admit him, unless he would go in alone. In the same Manner, when his Majesty sent *Pennington* to command the Fleet, that Commander found the Earl of *Warwick* in Possession of that Post, by Order of the Parliament. This was a Lesson that Prince had much Difficulty to improve upon, and taught him that there is a Mean even in Virtue, and that it is dangerous for a King to be too Good. He was now sensible of this Truth, and being resolv'd to subdue the Rebels whom he had till then too long forbore, gave Orders for raising of Forces, towards the furnishing whereof, the Queen had opportunely sent Arms and Money out of *Holland*. He made an unsuccessful Attempt upon *Hull*; *Hotham*, and *Meldrum* defended it, and being reliev'd by Sea, where the Earl of *Warwick* was Master, his Majesty was oblig'd to put off that Enterprize to another Time.

*Earl of
Essex.*

In the mean while the Parliamentarians on their side rais'd Men, and appointed Officers. *Robert*, Earl of *Essex* was declar'd General. He was a Man of great Quality, Brave, and had gain'd some Experience, serving in the Low-Countries. In other Respects he had but an indifferent Capacity, and but few Qualifications that could entitle him to command those that were of his own Rank, besides his Age, Gravity of Behaviour, and being wholly devoted to the Faction. He had an Adventure under King *James* the First, wherein he made show of some good Sense, or very much Weakness for the Case is disputable. His Wife, the Daughter of

The Earl of Suffolk, had attempted to poison him twice, in order to marry her Gallant, Robert Carr, the King's Favourite. Either Strength of Nature, or some Antidote taken in Time sav'd the Earl's Life. The passionate Countess su'd for a Divorce in Court, alledging that Insufficiency in her Husband, which authorises such Separation. The Earl thought any Method good to get rid of that Fury; he own'd the pretended Impotency, and thought there was no better way of being reveng'd on a Man that Dishonour'd him, than yielding him up a Wicked Woman, who in the End ruin'd his Fortune. Such was the Parliament General against the King. Other Officers were nominated, as well to serve under the Earl, as to command Separate Bodies in other Places. The King having done the like, the Negotiations were reasum'd. Both Sides declar'd their Adversaries guilty of High Treason, as Disturbers of the Publick Peace. New Declarations were printed, wherein both Parties protested they took up Arms to maintain the Protestant Religion, in Defence of the King's Person, for the Laws, the Liberty of the People, the Tranquillity of the Nation, and the Privileges of the Parliament; and to carry on that Comical Prelude to so many Tragical Events, whilst both Sides under hand labour'd to draw the Catholicks to their Party, each of them in publick charg'd the receiving of them as a Crime on the other; and the King himself forbid them taking up Arms for him. When these Grimaces were over, they took the Field, and came to Action.

The War was briskly carry'd on, according to the Genius of the Nation, which is Hot, Eager, using little Art, deciding every thing by Battel, where they put more Confidence in Numbers, and the Courage of the Soldiers, than the Skill of the Commanders. English Temper.

About the beginning of September, the King, grown weary of listening to the Parliament's Proposals, and having his own rejected, tho' they were more Moderate than became the Honour of a Crown'd Head, mov'd to gather his Army at Shresbury, near the Borders of Wales, whilst the Earl of Essex joyn'd his at Northampton, where the Rendezvous was. The King had little above Eleven Thousand Men, and the Earl Fourteen Thousand; but the Presence of their Sovereign inspir'd such Valour into his Troops, as made them despise the greater Number, and Both Armies.

1642. and gave them such Assurance as usually prefaces good Success.

*First Affi-
on, the
Rebels
routed.*

In the King's Army were the Princes *Rupert* and *Mann-
rice*, Brothers to the Elector *Palatine*, who was gone
back beyond the Sea. Prince *Rupert*, call'd Prince *Ro-
bert* by the Vulgar, who have us'd all Mankind to name
him so, being sent by the King his Uncle to secure *Wor-
cester*, was unexpectedly met by *Sands*, whom the Earl
of *Essex* had detach'd upon the same Design, and coming
to an Ingagement, *Sands* was kill'd, and his Party rou-
ted. The Earl of *Essex*, who follow'd *Sands*, oblig'd
the Prince, who was not supported by the King, to re-
tire, and joyn the Main Army, then marching towards
London; the King being resolv'd to take the Advantage
of the Earl's Remoteness, to draw near to his Capital.
Essex perceiv'd the King's Design, and turn'd short to
follow him. The King having notice of it, consider'd,
that having gain'd so little Ground upon the Rebels, it
would be dangerous for him to come too near *London*,
which might send out other Forces, and shut him up be-
tween two Armies. Hereupon he resolv'd to face that
Army that pursu'd him, and offer it Battel. Some say,
he had been inform'd that the Earl of *Essex* had not
his full Complement, but being hasty in the Pursuit had
left his Artillery behind him, with a Guard. How-
ever it was, the King advanc'd towards him with a
Resolution to fight.

*The Ar-
mies meet.*

The Parliament General marching on, without being
daunted, the two Armies met on a Plain, in the Coun-
ty of *Warwick*, call'd the Vale of Red Horse, lying be-
tween the Town of *Keynton* and *Edghill*, whence Histo-
rians have given it both the Names of the Battle of
Edghill and of *Keynton*, but most generally of *Edghill*.

*Edghill
Fight.*

The King came over the Hills, whence he discover'd
the Enemy marching out of the Town and ent'ring the
Plain, in order of Battel. Then those who were nearest
the King as'd him, what he meant to do. *To fight*, said
he, *by the Help of God, and of my good Subjects*. Having
spoke these Words, he drew up his Army, posting the
Earl of *Lindsey*, whom he had appointed General under
him, in the Center, Prince *Rupert* on the Right, and
Wilmot on the Left, sustain'd by several other Comman-
ders of Note, and known Bravery. In this Order he
came down the Hill, and having taken his Ground in
the

the Plain, found the Enemies Army there, drawn up much in the same manner as his own; with the General in the Center, *Balfour* and *Stapleton* on the Right, and *Collonel Ramsey* on the Left. Both sides began by some Discharges of Cannon, which did little Execution; after which *Prince Rupert*, who commanded the Horse, charg'd *Ramsey* with such Fury, that he not only press'd, broke, and routed him, but pursu'd to the Enemies Baggage, left at *Keynton*, and gave the Plunder of it to his Men. Had not the *Palatine* been so hot, and suffer'd himself to be so far transported, but instead of pursuing those that fled, and could do no more Hurt, so far, come back again, there had been an end of that Action, and of the War, and the King had been absolute Master. But it was *Prince Rupert's* Fault to lose the Advantage gain'd by his Valour, through an Excess of Valour. Yet was not his Fault irretrievable, had not his Example drawn the Earl of *Carnarvan* after him. The Parliament Infantry, which stood next the Wing that had been thus broke, was so frighted at that sudden Rout, that a Regiment of theirs, commanded by *Sir — Forth*, going over to the King in that Confusion, the Earl of *Essex* could not avoid being cut in Pieces, had the Earl of *Carnarvan*, who commanded the second Line of the Prince's Wing, instead of pursuing *Ramsey* with him, flank'd the Enemies Army on that side where it was broken. The Rebel General perceiv'd that Fault, and made use of it to bring up a Body of Reserve, which executed the same upon the Royalists that *Carnarvan* had neglected to do on the Parliamentarians. At the same Time the Enemy's Right Wing push'd the King's Left, and making better use of their Advantage than *Prince Rupert* had done of his, suffer'd the Horse to fly after being broke, and turn'd upon the Earl of *Lindsey*. There the Fight grew hot, and was obstinately maintain'd. *Lindsey* fought in Person, at the Head of two Battalions, where he was shot through and kill'd. His Eldest Son was taken, advancing to relieve him. *Sir — Varney* was kill'd carrying the Royal Standard, which was lost. The King had put himself at the Head of a good *Corps de Reserve*, which had not yet struck Stroke; the *Prince of Wales* and the *Duke of York*, the one scarce Twelve Years of Age, the other under Ten, were a Horseback on each side of him. His Majesty seeing

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ing his Troops give way mov'd to sustain them, and the two Princes with him; when somebody told him they must needs be tir'd, having been long a Horseback; besides that there was no Safety for them, where the King himself had better not expose his Person. He thought the Advice good, as far as it respected his Children, but would not follow it himself. He propos'd it to the Duke of *Richmond* to conduct them up the Hill, but that Noble Peer excus'd himself, begging leave to stay by his Majesty; who next apply'd himself to the Earl of *Dorset*, for the same Purpose, and was answer'd in a Jocular manner by him, according to his Custom, that all the Kings in the World should not make him retire, when he was to fight. One of the Gentlemen Pensioners had at last that Trust committed to him. The two Princes retir'd, not without imminent Danger of being taken in an Ambush they fell into by the Way. In the mean while the King led on his Party, with Sword in Hand, and his Presence giving the Troops fresh Vigour, the Royal Standard was re-taken by *Smith*, who was Knighted in the Field for that Action. The Fight was renew'd with all the Vigour that Weariness would allow, when Night put an End to it, advantageously to the Monarch, tho' the Parliament Account makes it a Drawn-Battle, and places it among the Number of those, which both sides claim the Honour of. The Number of the Slain was indeed almost equal. Some Persons of Note fell on both sides. The Lord *Aubigny*, of the Family of the *Stuarts*, and Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, had the same Fate with the Earl of *Lindsey*. Neither side lay on the Field of Battle, the King went up the Hill again, and the Earl retir'd to *Keynton*; but bating this only, all other Tokens of Victory appear'd on his Majesty's side. His Army was in Battle from break of Day, facing the Earl of *Essex*, who offer'd not to advance. He sent to fetch off his Cannon, which had been left in the Plain, together with the Enemies, and both were brought him, without any Opposition. Above 60 Colours were taken from the Parliamentarians. But that which made it plainest, was that the Earl of *Essex* alter'd his March, drawing off towards *Coventry*, whereas the King held on his, and took *Banbury*.

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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1642.
Blake
Traytor.

We must not here omit to mention the Treachery of one *Blake*, before the Battle, whose Letters were found among the Baggage plunder'd by Prince *Rupert's* Troops, wherein he acquainted the Parliament General with all the King's Designs, and particularly of the Place where he intended to fight. That Traytor receiv'd the Reward due to his Villany, whilst the King, having escap'd that Danger, march'd briskly towards his Capital, where he caus'd a fresh Consternation.

Had he gone thither as he intended, the War would have been at an End. Prince *Rupert* would needs go thither alone, and undertook to drive the Parliament from *Westminster*. The Spirit of the *English* Nation, which always predominates even in those who are best affected to Kingly Government, that *English* Spirit, I say, always full of the Conceit of those Liberties, that have been so fatal to the Kingdoms Peace, prevail'd with most of the Council to oppose that Design. They pretended it was dangerous for the King to put it in Execution himself, and for the City to have it done by the Prince, who was Young, and Hot, and might set Fire to it. The true Reason was, they fear'd, that if the King enter'd *London* with Sword in Hand, he might pretend to some Right of Conquest over the Nation, which would make him too Absolute. For this Reason they rather chose to hearken to the Proposals the Parliament made to appease the People. Tho' those were still the same, *Brentford* the King, who omitted nothing that might produce a Fight. Peace, and flatter'd himself that such a fortunate Beginning of the War might make his Enemies more tractable, consented to a Conference. They were about agreeing on the Place, when a considerable Action hap'n'd between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians at *Brentford*, where the former had all the Advantage, taking 11 Colours, and 13 Pieces of Canon from the Rebels. Each side charg'd the other with Breach of Faith, and committing Hostilities during a Treaty. Historians are so partial in their Accounts, that all they say is to be suspected. A Foreign Writer says it was Prince *Rupert*, who through his usual Heat occasion'd that Ingagement, thinking he no way transgress'd, the Treaty being scarce commenc'd, and no mention made of a Cessation of Arms. Some say the King was inform'd, that whilst the Parliamentarians amus'd him with Proposals, they were

con-

1642. *W* concerting to hem him in. However it was, that Accident broke off the Treaty, and the Earl of *Essex*, having march'd the Remainder of his Army on the other side of the River to *London*, to encourage the Citizens, the King retir'd to *Oxford*, and both Parties went into Winter Quarters.

1643. Fair Weather coming on with the Spring of the New Year, 1643, *England*, tho' so much us'd to see the Blood of its Natives spilt, beheld the most hideous Spectacle that had ever been acted on its Stage. Scarce any County was free from War, all Men being engag'd, and every one following his own Inclination, one Brother was often against the other, and the Son against the Father. The Main Armies possess'd the Center and both Ends of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Newcastle* having rais'd Nine Thousand Men, almost at his own Expence, stood up in the *North* for the King, and for his Duty. The two *Fairfaxes*, Father and Son, commanded the Rebel Forces in those Parts. The Marquis of *Hertford* kept the *Southern* and *Western* Counties for the juster Side; and *Waller*, a famous Commander was there for the Parliament. The King himself acted about *Oxford* against the Earl of *Essex*. That Prince had such Advantages on all sides, as must have put an End to the War, with the Destruction of the Rebels, had not Heaven, for Reasons we must rather adore than pry into, decreed otherwise. Several Miscarriages are imputed to the Loyal Party; but I have always thought it unjust to accuse able Men of Faults whensoever there is want of Success.

Actions in the North. In the *North*, the Earl of *Newcastle*, being join'd by the Earl of *Cumberland*, took *Caln*, and routed the Parliamentarians. Next he took *Bradford*, and had before seiz'd *Leeds*; but the *Fairfaxes* being reinforc'd with fresh Troops, regain'd it, at the first Assault. Young *Fairfax* took *Wakefield* and *Cholmly*, and soon after defeated Six Hundred Royalists near *Gainsborough*. These were small Advantages to the Parliament Party, whilst the Earl of *Newcastle*, to whom *Goring* and *King* had brought Men, Arms, Canon and Working Tools, took all the Towns he besieg'd, drove the Enemy before him in all Places, and after reducing all the *Northern* Parts, from *Tork* to the Borders of *Scotland*, oblig'd the *Fairfaxes* to shut themselves up in *Hull*, which Place he besieg'd.

Whilst

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

Whilst the King's Affairs thus prosper'd in the North, 1643. they advanc'd no less in the South. The Marquis of Hertford, sustain'd by Hopton, Prince Maurice, and several others, obtain'd considerable Advantages over Waller, the Earl of Stamford, and Sir — Chydley. The brave Hopton beat the two last in several distinct Actions, and both together at Stratton. Many of their Men were there kill'd, and Seventeen Hundred taken, with Thirteen Pieces of Cannon, Seventy Barrels of Powder, and other Booty, which demonstrated a compleat Victory. The two Commanders of the routed Army flying to Exeter, were besieg'd there by Prince Maurice, and surrender'd upon Articles; whilst Hopton, marching into Somersetshire, went to engage Waller, near Bath. This Action hap'n'd about the beginning of July in Lansdown Plain. The Fight ended not with the Day; but was continu'd far into the Night, without any plain Decision to which side the Victory might be assign'd. If we may judge by the Field of Battel, the Royalists kept it, Waller retiring to Bath, soon after the Darkness parted them. Hopton was much concern'd for the loss of Sir Bevil Greenvil, a Gentleman, who had that Day signaliz'd himself, at the Head of a Stand of Pikes, which he made good against all the Efforts of the Enemy. Another more unfortunate Accident cross'd that Commander's good Fortune. Whether by Chance, or the Malice of the Prisoners he had taken, his Powder took fire, and he narrowly escap'd being kill'd by it himself. This Misfortune gave Waller a great Advantage over him, and he neglected it not, but forc'd him to shut himself up in the Devises. Waller pursu'd so close, that he overtook his Infantry, whom he attack'd, and thought he had sure, when the King, who had receiv'd Intelligence of the Danger his Men were in, happily sent them Relief. Prince Maurice, the Marquis of Hertford, Baron Wilmot, and other great Men, led thither a Body of Horse, which joyning Hopton's Forces, fought Waller, and routed him. Almost all his Army was cut in Pieces, his Cannon taken, with abundance of Provisions and Ammunition, which the Royalists then stood in great Need of. Waller lost Thirty Seven Colours, and retir'd to Bristol, whither the Victorious Army pursuing him, he was oblig'd to fly to London, and leave that City to the Royalists.

1643.

*The King's
Success in
the Inland.*

Whilst the King's Party made such Progress at both Ends of the Kingdom, the King himself and the Commanders under him, in the Mid-land Counties, were no less successful. The Earl of *Northumberland* routed *Brereton*. The Earl was kill'd in that Action, but Prince *Rupert* having join'd his Forces, besieg'd *Lichfield*, and took it. The taking of *Reading* by the Earl of *Essex*, had struck a Terror into the Inhabitants of *Oxford*, and the King, who was then there, very remote from his Forces, which were dispers'd in several Places, was thought to be in danger, had the Earl known how to improve his Success; or had he not, as was suspected, rather chose to put an End to the War by a Peace, that must be advantageous to the Party that stood up for Liberty, which he would secure to the People, than by a Victory that must be fatal to Monarchy, which he was not willing to subvert. That Fault, or Discretion, gave Prince *Rupert* leisure to draw near to the Court. By the way he met a Body of the Enemies Horse in *Chalgrave* Field, whom he defeated, kill'd many, took a great Number of Prisoners, and by the Death of *Hambden*, one of the Five Members so famous for their Practices in the House of Commons, reveng'd the Wrongs done to the Loyal Cause by those Seditious Spirits. This Loss so much weakened *Essex's* Army, that he durst not keep the Field any longer; besides Diseases daily carrying off a considerable Number, that General was oblig'd to retire under the Lines of *London*, to give his Troops time to breathe, and recover.

*Insolency
of a Rebel.*

Had the King rely'd upon himself, that Army would not have got off. The Queen had brought him over Officers and Arms out of *Holland*, where she pawn'd her Jewels, to procure him that Supply. She had repas'd the Sea to bring it her self, and met with several Dangers by the way. An *English* Vessel, that hap'n'd to be in the same Port hers put into, had the Insolence to Commandade the House she lay in, and forc'd her to remove.

*The Queen
brings Re-
lief.*

All the Nation was asham'd of that unparalell'd Brutality, and all *Europe* look'd upon it with Horror. The Queen receiv'd no Hurt, but was encourag'd by the way as she went to add all the Troops she could to the Relief she was carrying to the King, which consisted of Four Thousand Men, with Six Pieces of Cannon, and Two Mortars. The Earl of *Newcastle*, who had been every

every where Victorious, was able to joyn a considerable Army to that his Majesty could form of many small Bodies he had all about *Oxford*. That Monarch was for joyning the main Strength of his Forces, in order to march with Two Armies, to strike a Terror into his Capital City, and oblige the Parliament to grant Peace to the Nation; but his Council was of another Mind, and made him commit the same Fault the Earl of *Essex* had been accus'd of, and he himself been guilty of before. Some say, that many of those who were nearest about the King, were not averse to the Parliament. That manner of Proceeding is very agreeable to the Genius of the *English* Nation; which, as I have said before, looks upon that Assembly as the Preserver of a Liberty those People pay an idolatrous Worship to. For the same Reason, the Parliament never was without a like Number of Persons no less inclin'd to the King and Monarchy, which they look'd upon as the Foundation of the Government, and were desirous to preserve, notwithstanding all their Efforts for the advancing of Liberty. This Medley serv'd for a while to keep both sides from running upon Extreams; but was at last fatal to the King, and particularly at this Conjunction I now speak of, when instead of marching to crush the Rebellion in its Head, as he might have done, he employ'd his Troops about a Siege, which gave his Enemies time to recruit their almost ruin'd Troops, and expedite a powerful Succour that was preparing for them.

Treachery
in the
King's
Council.

Glocester, the fatal Place so unseasonably besieg'd, was of no considerable Strength; but *Massy*, who defended it, had so much Conduct, as to stop the Royal Army so long as was necessary to recruit the Earl of *Essex*'s in such a great City as *London*. As soon as it was in a Condition, that General led it to *Glocester*, and oblig'd the King to raise the Siege. This gave occasion to the *Newbury* Battle of *Newbury*, fought in *September*, 1643, and famous for having lasted Three Days, without any full Declaration of Victory on either side, for which both appointed Thanksgivings, without having reap'd the Advantage. The King had most to show for it, but at the Expence of very many Persons of Quality. The Earls of *Carnarvon* and *Sunderland*, the Lord Viscount *Falkland*, and Collonel *Morgan*, were kill'd in the Fight. A Son to the Marquis de *Vieuville*, much commended

Glocester
Siege
rais'd.

Newbury
Fight.

1643.

France
mediates
for Peace.

by the Historians on both sides, was taken Prisoner, and barbarously kill'd in cold Blood by those that took him.

So much Blood shed to no purpose towards bringing Affairs to a Decision; seem'd to offer *France* a favourable Opportunity to interpose its Mediation once again, as it did, for restoring a good Understanding, and Peace between them. The Face of Affairs was chang'd. Cardinal *Richelieu* was dead; King *Lewis* the 13th had follow'd him; Queen *Anne* of *Austria* declar'd Regent during the Minority of her Son; was concern'd to see the dangerous Condition, not only the King, but all the Royal Family of *England* was reduc'd to. On the other Hand, the Difficulties that Monarch labour'd under, and the Vanity of the Promises, those who inclin'd him to the House of *Austria* had flatter'd him with, had made him something better dispos'd towards *France*. The Queen's Eyes were open, and she saw no safe Place of Retreat, but her own Country, in Case of any Disaster. This was the Posture of Affairs, when the Count *de Harcourt* was appointed to go offer the King his Master's Mediation to the King of *England*, and his Parliament. An Ambassador of such high Birth, and so great Reputation, it was thought must needs be heard; and that Justice must be done the King of *England*, as to declare, it was not his Fault that the Count did not reconcile the Differences between him and his Subjects; but the Parliament was still obstinate not to grant Peace, unless they might prescribe Laws. They therefore return'd the Mediator a respectful Answer; but persisted in such Haughtiness towards their Sovereign, that the Ambassador lost all Hopes of succeeding, and the Queen Regent, after he had spent some Months in useless Overtures, was oblig'd to recal him.

Rebels
make a
Great-
Seal.

The Insolence of the Parliamentarians was very surprising, at a Time when the King's Arms had prevail'd in most Places; and it was so much more that they had the Boldness to cause a New Great-Seal to be made, and to pretend that the Keeping of it of Right belong'd to them; but it was not long before the Reason of this their Audaciousness appear'd, by the Discovery of what was contriving in *Scotland*.

The King judging of what that Nation would do, by what it ought to have done, as if Men always did as they ought, was fully perswaded, that after so many Favours receiv'd from him, and the Promises made him, never to bear Arms against his Service, he had nothing to fear from that side; and some time pass'd before the *Scott* shew'd any Disposition to espouse either Party. But in reality there was always a great Correspondence between them, and the Parliament of *England*; there were Persons imploy'd on both sides to keep up the Union; but the *Scots* having obtain'd all they demand'd, the King believ'd that their Loyalty and Gratitude being out of danger of Corruption from Interest, they would not rise against him any more. He did not consider, that the setting up of Puritanism in *England* for the prevailing Religion, as it was in *Scotland*, was a main Interest to the *Scots*, who were all Puritans; and that by the Rules of Policy, it was no less their Interest, to have Liberties granted to the *English*, which they were to be the Assertors of; and which, for that same Reason, the Kings would in time to come be more cautious of invading.

It is likely the *English* Parliament's Agents in *Scotland* saw deeper into the Force of those two Motives than the King had done, and knew how to urge them to the Purpose. These Affairs being at first privately manag'd, there were few that knew of them, and the King being in no Condition to do any Man Good, or Harm, there were few *Scots* so well affected to his Service, as to give him Intelligence of what was transacting. It was upon this Occasion that the Brave Marquess of *Montrose* began to signalize himself, by that extraordinary Loyalty whose Hero he liv'd, and whose Martyr he dy'd. That Lord had at first been carry'd away by the Stream, and taken up Arms for the Cause of Liberty, without much examining whether it was the Cause of Justice. Time had open'd his Eyes, he understood his Duty, and his Intentions being upright, made no Delay in following of it. This was such a Support to the better Cause, that had the King in time made as much account of it as it deserv'd, and all the Use he might have done, it would have given such a Diversion, as had render'd all the Succours of the *Scots* useless to his Enemies. No sooner was *Montrose* inform'd of what was contriving in his Country,

1643. try, than he resolv'd to give the King notice of it. This was at the Time when the Queen return'd out of *Holland* into *England*. He met, and told her, what he had discover'd; adding, that it was requisite, to prevent the Designs of the King's Enemies, to form a Party for him in *Scotland*, and find the Conspirators Employment, to obstruct their coming to disturb the King's Success in *England*. The Queen, whose Thoughts were wholly bent upon joining the King her Husband, as soon as possible, with the Supplies she brought him, made the less account of what *Montrose* told her, in regard that Duke *Hamilton*, who was also come to compliment her, represented that Lord's Intelligence, as meer Fancies of Youth; saying, he knew more than *Montrose*, that he was better acquainted with the Country, and that in case there were any Disposition in *Scotland* to the League he talk'd of, all fair Means must needs be first try'd, before the Incision-Knife and Cauteries were us'd to a Sore to which Oil had not been first apply'd; that he would undertake to observe the Motions of his Nation, and give the Court timely notice of any Mischief he could not prevent.

Hamilton
obstruſts
his good
Designs.

Queen's
Mistake. When two Persons give Advice, if there be never so little Reason to question which is best, that which pleases most is always follow'd. By this Rule *Hamilton's* was preferr'd before *Montrose's*. The Queen was earnest to join the King; and the Delay of adjusting of Measures, and consulting, was uneasy to her at that time. It was more agreeable to the Conjunction, and no way repugnant to Prudence, to leave the Care of that Affair to a Man of Sense, Reputation and Authority, such as *Hamilton* was. This was the Course the Queen follow'd, but the Event shew'd it had not been the best.

Montrose
firm to the
King. No sooner was Duke *Hamilton* return'd into *Scotland*, than the Great Men of the Kingdom, being gain'd by the Agents of the *English* Rebels, call'd a Convention. This is the Name those People give to an Assembly, that serves instead of a Parliament, which they had desir'd the King to call, and he had refus'd. The Cause of convening that Assembly being kept secret, *Montrose*, whom the Rebel Cabal had resolv'd to gain, was one of the first they acquainted with it. They founded him artfully, and he no less subtilly putting them who try'd him in hopes that he would not be inflexible, they discover'd

cover'd to him their Design of taking up Arms for the Parliament of *England* against their Sovereign, desiring him to accept of the Post of Lieutenant General in the Confederate Forces. *Montrose* receiv'd their Secret and Offer with the same Dissimulation he had made use of to draw it from them. He gave them Cause to hope, without engaging himself in any Promise; but having brought himself off, on account that those he had to deal with did not agree in Circumstances, he desir'd them to agree among themselves, before he came to contract with them, and leaving them, got away unperceiv'd, with his Friend *Ogilby*, to give notice to the King.

His Majesty was then at the Siege of *Gloucester*, which found him much Employment. Besides he repos'd so much Confidence in what *Hamilton* had so positively told the Queen, that whatsoever *Montrose* could say, he could scarce be heard. The King was gone back to *Oxford*, and his Troops in Winter Quarters, before he could be convinc'd; which was not till he was told, what had been done in the Convention, *Hamilton* himself being oblig'd to give him an Account, and by a publick Declaration that Assembly set forth, to acquaint the World with the Resolutions they were come to. By it the King understood, that the *English* had receiv'd the *Scots* Covenant, which they had enlarg'd, and made common to both Nations, under the Name of the *League*, adding some Articles, the Substance whereof, together with the others, was,

Not re-
garded by
him.

1. That they would all jointly, and every Man in particular, endeavour to maintain the Religion both in *England* and *Scotland*, as also in *Ireland*, according to the pure Word of God, and the Example of the best re-form'd Churches; to the end that for the future there might be a perfect Uniformity of Worship throughout the three Kingdoms.

The Sub-
stance of
the Cove-
nant.

2. That they would without any human Respect, or Regard to any Person whatsoever, labour to extirpate Popery, the Hierarchy, all Heresy, Schism, and Superstition.

3. That they would expose their Lives and Fortunes, to maintain the Liberties of the three Kingdoms, and to defend the King's Person and Authority, as far as he should concur with them in maintaining their Religion, and Liberties.

1643.

4. That they would faithfully discover such as they knew endeavour'd to sow Discord among the Parties in League, or to obstruct the intended Reformation, by causing Divisions between the King and his People.

5. That they would use all justifiable Means for continuing the Union between *England* and *Scotland*.

6. That they would protect and support all such as enter'd into the League, from which they would not suffer any Person to be withdrawn.

7. That they would never stand Neuters, nor be indifferent in a Cause, which so nearly concern'd the Glory of God, the King's Honour, and the Prosperity of the People.

Other Particulars of it.

Besides these general Points, which contain'd the Motives, and express'd the Conditions of the Treaty, there were others more particular, which regarded the Execution of it, viz. That they should raise an Army in *Scotland*, of 18000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, furnish'd with 40 Days Pay and Provisions, which should rendezvous at the Place appointed on the Frontiers, with a suitable Train of Artillery, and Baggage: That the said Army should be commanded by a General of the *Scots* appointing, but who should execute the Orders he receiv'd from both Kingdoms jointly: That *Scotland* should be at the Expence of raising the Army, but to be reimburs'd by *England*: That the Parliament of *England* should furnish 30000 Pounds a Month for the Maintenance of that Army, which Sum to be rais'd on the Estates of the Catholics, the Bishops, their Adherents, and all other Enemies to their Sect: That no Treaty of Peace or Truce should be consented to, without the Concurrence of both Nations: That as long as the *Scots* Army should be employ'd in *England*, the Parliament should cause the Coasts of *Scotland* to be guarded by 8 Sail of Men of War: That the *Scots* should have *Berwick* deliver'd to them for their Security, to be restor'd to the *English* upon a Peace, till which time the latter were to pay the Garrison.

Scots enter England.

1644.

The Court was in a great Consternation at this News brought to *Oxford* by Duke *Hamilton* himself, and much more by *Lesley's* entering *England* with 20000 Men at the Beginning of the Year 1644. Whatsoever Duke *Hamilton* could alledge in his own Vindication, the King suspected his Fidelity, which many others had long before

fore mistrusted, and committed him to Prison. Then *Montrose* was taken notice of, but as he freely declares himself, it ought to have been sooner, which would have prevented a Mischiefe, then admitting of none but a violent and dangerous Remedy.

No Man in the World was ever more expert at working himself out of Difficulties, and yet no Man *his Character* was oftner reduc'd to them. His Measures were often

broke by the Falshood and Inconstancy of those he was necessitated to imploy in his Undertakings, by cross Events and unexpected Accidents; but if ever so small a Prospect remain'd, after a Disappointment, of retrieving what was lost, he never gave way to Despair.

The Vigour of the Execution still supplying the Want of Necessaries, he must have been always victorious, had he serv'd a fortunate Master. As late as it was to think of giving a Diversion in *Scotland*, and forming a Party for the King, his Majesty asking the Marquis,

whether he could not think of any Means to bring it about, that Lord answer'd, There were three Ways, which must be immediately made use of: The first, to

send the Marquess of *Antrim*, an *Irish* man by Birth, and a *Scot* by Descent, into *Ireland*, who should there raise 10000 Men, and send them over into *Scotland*.

The second, that he in the mean while should be sent into his own Country, with what Troops could be spar'd him, especially Horse, detach'd by the Marquis of *Newcastle* from the Army he commanded in the North. The third, to send some Person to the King of

Denmark, to ask of him the Succours he had offer'd long before. The King approv'd of his Project, and gave all the necessary Orders for the effecting of it, according to the Scheme laid by him that propos'd it. For the better promoting of the Marquis of *Antrim's* Levies, he order'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*,

to procure a Cessation of Arms there, between the Catholicks and the Protestants; both Parties being then equally inclin'd to it. He was very loth to advance this Step, which was contrary to the Decree he had sign'd, that no Peace or Truce should be concluded with the *Irish* Rebels, without the Consent of the Parliament; as being sensible that his Enemies would not fail to lay that as a Crime to his Charge, which they put

him upon the necessity of doing. But they having first broke

1644. broke in upon that Resolution, making use of the Money appointed for the *Irish* War, to carry on their Rebellion; and the King standing in need of the Succours offer'd him against the *Scots* by both the *Irish* Parties, to support his own, he gave way, and caus'd the Cessation of Arms to be concluded for a Year, and for the same time accepted of 10000, out of 20000 the *Irish* offer'd should join his Army, besides those that were to go into *Scotland* with the Marquis of *Antrim*.

Parliament at Oxford.

The King having taken these Measures to set one auxiliary Nation against another, resolv'd to divide the Parliament also, by summoning of it to *Oxford*. The Summons answer'd well enough, but the Advantage it produc'd was inconsiderable. The better part of Peers that remain'd still at *Westminster* resorted to the King, to take their Places in the Upper House, as did 140 Members of the House of Commons.

Scots Progress in England.

This new Parliament, which commenc'd on the 22^d of *January*, propos'd a Treaty of Peace to the old one, in adjusting the Preliminaries whereof the whole Winter was spent; the Presbyterian Cabal still growing more averse to Peace, as it found its Power increase, and especially being then supported by a numerous Army of *Scots*. For whilst the Winter Season was spent in fruitless Negotiations, the Confederates, who were not concern'd about them, entering *England*, under the Command of *Lesley*, had taken possession of *Berwick*, and passing the *Tweed*, seiz'd the Castles of *Warkuth*, *Morpeth*, and *Blisnuck*; then having laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Tyne*, a little below *Newcastle*, they advanc'd to *Werk*, and made themselves Masters of *Sunderland*.

The King's Preparations.

This Progress of the new Rebels soon broke off the Conferences, and oblig'd the King to think of farther Preparations. The *Oxford* Parliament help'd him to raise some Money. *Ireland* furnish'd him with Troops, which were incorporated with his own. By help of these Supplies he soon brought his Armies into the Field, to act in several Places under their distinct Commands.

M. of Newcastle streightned.

The Spring was spent, as is usual, in disposing Actions by regular Motions, wherein every one endeavours to improve his Enemies Faults, for the attacking of him advantageously. The Summer was extraordinary active. I shall not stay to give an account of inconsiderable Sieges and

and Fights, in which the Commanders on both sides signalize themselves, without any great Advantage to their Party. I will follow the main Armies. The King had two, one of which acted under his own Command about London and Oxford, against Essex and Waller, sometimes jointly, and sometimes separately; the other was in the North under the Brave Marquis of Newcastle, who had to do with the Scots, join'd by the Earl of Manchester and the two Fairfaxes. Upon their Junction, the Marquis of Newcastle had rais'd the Siege of Hull, unseasonably began by him, as was that of Gloucester by the King; and retiring to York to expect Prince Rupert and Montrose, who were to join him, was himself besieg'd.

Essex and Waller block'd up Oxford, thinking they had coop'd up the King there; but he had got out in good time, and was marching at the Head of his Army towards Worcester. Those two Generals pursu'd him jointly; but the Earl thinking Waller strong enough alone to fight, order'd him to pursue and observe his Majesty, whilst he to promote their Interest march'd another way, to reduce those Counties that continu'd loyal.

Waller had a good Army rais'd at the Expence of the Citizens of London, who had agreed every Man once a Week to save an Evening's Expence in his Family, and bestow that Money in maintaining a Body of Troops; so entirely were those People possess'd with the Spirit of Rebellion. The Courage of those new Men had been lately try'd, at the taking of the Castle of Arundel, and in an Engagement near Alford, where the Earl of Forth and Hopson lost near 300 Men of the King's Forces under their Command, and were oblig'd to retire in disorder, scarce saving their Cannon. Many Men of Note were there kill'd, and among them John Stuart, Brother to the Duke of Richmond. Waller, puff'd up with that Success, press'd on to overtake the King, and to that purpose march'd into Staffordshire, hoping to cut short; but the King guessing at his Design, instead of advancing gave back, and being near Oxford, drew out from thence some Regiments and Cannon he had left there, and then holding on his Way, advanc'd to Banbury. There he found Waller drawn up so advantageously, that he thought not fit to attack him. In order to draw him from

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1644.
Cropredy
Fight.

Marston-
Moor
Fight.

from that Post, he retir'd towards *Cropredy*; not questioning but that *Waller*, who had reinforced his Army with the Garrisons of *Coventry*, *Warwick*, *Northampton*, and *Glocester*, and seem'd resolv'd to fight, would follow him to that purpose; and so it fell out. The King had the little River of *Charnel* between him and *Waller*, and could have prevented his passing it, being Master of the Bridge; but instead of that, he drew back, that the other might pass, still narrowly observing what Sir *William* would do when he came thither. That General never hesitated, fearing to lose the Honour of giving the decisive Stroke in the common Cause, if he slip'd that Opportunity. He caus'd 2000 Horse, a Body of Foot, and 14 Pieces of Cannon, to pass over the Bridge, whilst the rest of his Army forded the River in other Places. The King, who observ'd him, order'd his Rear, commanded by the Earl of *Cleveland* to face about, and charg'd that part of the Enemies Army so successfully, whilst the Earl of *Northumberland* kept those at the Fords in play, that he routed it, and took the Cannon, with the Loss of only 20 Men. Of *Waller's* above 1000 were kill'd and taken, and he forc'd to retire, to save an entire Defeat. Historians differ about the Circumstances of this Battel, but they all agree about the Success. The King had not much time to rejoice at it. No sooner was *Waller* withdrawn, than this Satisfaction was allay'd by the News brought out of the North. Prince *Rupert* had led a great Body of Horse to *York*, to raise the Siege there. He had already rais'd that at *Newark*, routing *Meldrum*, who commanded 8000 Men there; and by the way taken *Stapford*, *Liverpool*, *Lathom*, and *Boulton*. Puff'd up with those Successes, he resolv'd to fight the Confederate Forces, if they would give him an Opportunity, notwithstanding they were superior in number. It was not their Part to avoid him, since the Advantage was on their side. As soon as their Generals were inform'd of his Approach, they march'd out of their Lines, and met him. They engag'd upon *Marston-Moor*, where the two *Fairfaxes* commanded the Right Wing, and the Earl of *Manchester* the Left, *Lesley* with his Scots being in the Center. The Marquis of *Newcastle* was come out of the Town to confer with the Prince. Many advis'd to wait the coming of *Montrose*, who was marching towards them; but the Prince, abating

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

87

1644.

abating nothing of that fiery Temper, which was the Occasion of so many Faults as he committed, would fight immediately, and gave the Marquis of *Newcastle*, who it is likely was not of his Mind, very hard Words. That Battle was fought on the first Day of *July*, and prov'd the Greatest, the Bloodiest, and one of the most Decisive that were fought during that War. The Prince led the Left Wing of his Army, the Earl of *Newcastle* the Right, *Goring*, *Lucas*, and *Endymion Porter* the Center. Victory at the first Onset seem'd to incline to all the Royal Party, the three Parliament Generals giving way at once, and retiring in disorder. This was the Time when *Cromwel* first began to exert himself, and discover one of those Talents which might have made him the Greatest Man in the World, had not his Ambition made him the Greatest Villain of Mankind. He had the next Command under *Manchester*, had been wounded at the first Charge, went off to be dress'd, and as soon as that was done came again to his Post, where he found Things in the Posture I have said above. Any other Man, would have run with the Stream, and follow'd such Examples as he need not blush at, to seek his Safety by Flight. *Cromwel* rather chose to show what good Sense can do, when seconded by Valour. He presently observ'd, that there was as much Confusion among the Conquerors as the Conquer'd; those who pursu'd observing no more Order than those that fled. Hence he concluded, that could he rally a Party, that would renew the Charge, and stick together, he should certainly bring over Victory to his own side. He judg'd right. and having one Brigade still intire, put himself at the Head of it, and being seconded by *David Lesley*, the *Scots* General's Kinsman, fell so furiously, and at the same time in such good Order upon the Royalists, who had broke their Ranks, that he made them fly in their turn, took the Cannon and Baggage, and remain'd Master of the Field. Prince *Rupert*, having according to his Custom, pursu'd those that fled too far, when he return'd, found the Victory in the Hands of his Enemies. The Vexation he was in caus'd him to use base Language to the Marquis of *Newcastle*, and another brave Man whose Name was *Hurry*; whereupon they both left the Service. *Hurry* went over to the Parliament; the Earl, with his Children, and some Officers that

Oliver
Cromwel

The History of the Revolutions in England,

1642.
York sur-
render'd.

Newca-
stle taken.

Essex in
the West.

The
Queen's
Escape.

Essex
coop'd up
in Corn-
wal.

that had serv'd under him went away to *Hambrough*, leaving *England* to it's Destiny. Prince *Rupert* made *Glenham* Governour of *York* in his stead, whilst he, with the Remains of his Army that could be brought together, retir'd towards *Lancaster*. *Glenham* held out some Time longer; but at length, no Relief coming, was oblig'd to surrender. After this the Confederates marching to invest *Newcastle*, which was block'd up on the side next to *Durham*, by the Earl of *Calender*, newly come out of *Scotland* with Seven Thousand Men, took the Town by Assault, after a Siege of two Months, and oblig'd the Earl of *Branford* to surrender the Castle at Discretion. Thus was all the *North of England* reduc'd under the Power of the Parliament. The Royalists had need of a more considerable Advantage than that I mention'd above to counterpoise this Loss.

The Earl of *Essex* after he had parted from *Waller*, had made a considerable Progress in the *Western* Countries, having taken several Places of Note, notwithstanding Prince *Maurice* had some Forces on that side, and now he threatn'd *Exeter* with a Siege. The Queen being ready to Lye-in, had retir'd thither, and was deliver'd of the Princess *Henrietta*, afterwards Dutches of *Orleans*. When the Enemies Army drew near, the Queen had sent a Trumpeter to the Earl of *Essex*, to desire he would allow her some Time to recover, before he besieg'd the Place, and a Pass to go to the *Bath*. The Earl receiv'd that Message as rudely as the Parliamentarians were us'd to do, telling the Trumpeter, there were Conveniences enough in *London*, whither the Queen might go, for he knew no other Place so safe for her to repair to. This Answer oblig'd her Majesty to ship over privately into *France*, where she arriv'd in Safety, notwithstanding Vice Admiral *Barr* made several Discharges of Cannon at the Ships that carry'd her, an Action no Country but *England* has the Misfortune to be guilty of.

Essex had taken wrong Measures. The King pursu'd, and drove him insensibly towards *Plymouth*, then besieg'd by Prince *Maurice*. The Earl was not sensible of his Error, till his Majesty incamping at *Liskard*, three Leagues from *Lestisbiel*, where *Essex* lay, that General perceiv'd he was like to be inclos'd between two Armies. He call'd a Council to advise what was to be done. Some

were

were for having him turn short upon the King and give him Battle; for if the King's Army were defeated, the *Palatines* must needs undergo the same Fate, and *Plymouth* be reliev'd. Others were of the contrary Opinion, that they should undertake the easiest Task first, raise the Siege, and fight Prince *Maurice*, whose Troops were neither so numerous, nor in such good Case as the King's. The Earl lik'd this Advice and follow'd it, marching towards *Plymouth* with all possible Expedition, which was disappointed by the King's Celerity. The farther the Rebel Army advanced, the closer it was pent up by his Majesty's, which stretch'd out by degrees, blocking it up on all sides, till having drove it into the very Point of *Cornwall*, it was at once depriv'd of all Subsistence, and the Means of retiring to procure any. The King laid hold of this Opportunity to make a Proposal to the Earl, which would have sav'd his Reputation, and restor'd Peace to the Nation, had not the Spirit of Presbytery blinded that General. His Majesty demanded a Conference, wherein certain Points being sincerely agreed upon between them, they should afterwards joyn their Forces, to reduce those that should refuse to subscribe to them; by which Means all *England* would soon be restor'd to Peace; and those who were truly for the publick Good would be satisfy'd. The Earl heard this Proposal with the same Obstinacy he had receiv'd all other Offers of Accommodation, returning his usual Answer, that he was sent to make War, and not to treat of Peace.

This Answer was the more surprizing, in regard that His Obstinacy. General was in such a Condition, that Peace would have been Honourable and Advantageous to him, whereas the Prosecution of the War became daily more prejudicial to his Honour, and destructive to his Fortune. He suffer'd both ways; for being shamefully reduc'd to an Impossibility of Fighting, he was oblig'd to leave his Army to the Mercy of his Enemy. He made his Escape to *Plymouth*, with some of his Officers. Somewhat above two Thousand Horse, which was his whole Cavalry, fought through several ways at the same time. The rest of the Army laid down their Arms, and surrender'd, with Forty Pieces of Brass Cannon, two Hundred Barrels of Powder, and all the Baggage. His Majesty spar'd all their Lives, like a good King; giving those that

Loses his whole Army.

1644.

that desir'd it leave to depart, after taking an Oath never more to bear Arms against him; wherein he went beyond the Bounds Prudence prescribes to Goodness and other Virtues, having been sufficiently convinc'd by Experience, that he had to do with Men that valu'd no Oaths. He found the same again; for all those that list'd not themselves in his Army, being the greater Number, took Arms against him, as soon as ask'd, and it was observ'd that no Troops afterwards fought more obstinately against him than those.

Is compli-
mented by
the Parli-
ament.

This Disaster made the Parliament Party mutter against *Essex*, whose Reputation declin'd, and his Fortune totter'd from that time forward. However, whether it was not thought convenient to provoke him under the Confusion Things were in, through his Misfortune, or that a new Cabal, which intended to raise it self on his Ruins, did not yet find it self in a Condition to make their Advantage; the Parliament understanding, that he was on his way to *London*, to clear himself, sent to acquaint him, that they were fully satisfy'd of his Conduct; that they believ'd he had omitted nothing the greatest General could have done under his Circumstances; that they only hop'd from his Valour to retrieve the Misfortune that had hap'n'd; that they therefore desir'd him to forget he had been once Unfortunate, and call to Mind how often his Resolution had been Successful; and that he should make hast to put himself at the Head of an Army, which the Earl of *Manchester*, *Waller*, and *Brown*, were getting together for him, in order to obstruct the King's returning to *Oxford*, for compassing whereof all Means were to be us'd.

Newberry
second
Fight.

The King, after the Defeat of *Essex*, which hap'n'd in *September*, had reduc'd many Places in the *West*, and narrowly miss'd taking of *Plymouth*; which *Alexander Carew* was to have deliver'd to him, but was discover'd, and beheaded. He was upon the March to *Oxford*, with scarce a third Part of his Army, when the Enemy met, and attack'd him at *Newberry*. Being inferior to them, he had intrench'd, between the Town and the Castle, expecting to be joyn'd by his Nephew Prince *Rupert*, who was bringing Three Thousand Horse; and by the Earl of *Northampton*, who had One Thousand more, with which he had reliev'd *Bambury*. The Earl of *Essex* did not allow Time for those Succours to come

1644.

up: He caus'd the Intrenchments to be attack'd, hoping to force them; but met with such Opposition as made him purchase the Advantage he gain'd by Numbers, at a dear Rate. The King, it is true, lost Three Thousand Men, and Five Pieces of Cannon, besides some Prisoners, and among them the Earl of *Cleveland*; the Number of the Slain on the Parliament side was no less, and Night putting an End to the Fight, the Victory was undecided. The Earl of *Essex* claim'd it, because the King retir'd in the Dark; his Majesty contested it with him, in regard he did it to hold on his Way to *Oxford*, where he arriv'd safe, in spite of *Essex*. This Action had one Consequence, which gave both the Honour and the Advantage to the Royal side, beyond all Controversy, whatsoever the World judg'd of it at first: His Majesty had in his March left his Baggage and Heavy Cannon at *Dennington Castle*. The Earl of *Essex* laid Siege to that Denning-Place, which being bravely defended by Boys the Governor, the King return'd to relieve it, rais'd the Siege, drove away the Rebels, re-took *Newbury*, and carry'd off his Cannon to *Oxford*, without any Molestation, about the later End of *November*.

These Advantages having made amends for the Losses Mon- his Majesty had sustain'd in the *North*, he was in a Con- trose's
dition with Honour to press the Parliament to hearken to a Treaty; especially after News was brought of Mon- trose's Progress in *Scotland*, where that brave Man, finding Employment for a considerable Part of the En- mies Forces, gave Hopes of a powerful Diversion. All the Succours he had promis'd himself, all the Measures he had taken, and even his Friends had fail'd him. The first Troops he rais'd, abandon'd him basely, and serv'd only to give the Confederates Notice of his Designs, so that they secur'd all the Passes, and observ'd him narrowly. Nevertheless, getting into his Country with only two more besides himself, after lying conceal'd some time at a Friend's House, he joyn'd Twelve Hundred Irish, commanded by *Alexander Macdonald*, sent over by the Marquis of *Antrim*. The Gentry of the County of *Athol*, who were well affected to the Royal Party, had rais'd him Seven or Eight Hundred Men, and Five Hundred more under the command of *Kilpunt*, Son to the Earl of *Menteth*, had reinforc'd his Party. With this small Brigade, without any Horse, or scarce Arms,

1644.

and not above one Charge round of Powder, *Montrose* took the Field. All *Scotland* was in a Commotion at the Report of it, and several Bodies were sent out to fight him, so that he had always two at once to deal with. The Earl of *Argyle* pursu'd, and us'd all Means to overtake him. *Montrose* skillfully shunn'd him, till he was grown strong enough to stand; but which way soever he turn'd, another Body was still ready to engage him. Being one Day near *Perth*, in that perplexing Condition, he resolv'd to try, whether his Courage could not make amends for his want of Numbers. Accordingly he attack'd and defeated an Army of Seven Thousand Foot and Eight Hundred Horse, with Nine Pieces of Cannon; and did it so fortunately, that without losing a Man, or having any more than two wounded, he kill'd two Thousand of the Enemy, took as many Prisoners, their Baggage and Cannon, and afterwards the Town of *Perth*. After this Victory and Conquest, the brave Marquis advancing into the Counties of *Angus* and *Mern*, still pursu'd by *Argyle*, had routed another Party of the Confederates near *Aberdeen*, killing one Thousand of them, with the Loss only of Five of his own. Next he sent *Macdonald* into the North, to endeavour to raise the *Highlanders* for their Prince's Service, they having always been very Loyal; and having long shunn'd meeting the Earl of *Argyle*, who was now withdrawn into his own Country to recruit his Forces, during the Winter Season, *Montrose* march'd to surprize him in his Castle of *Inderrary*, whence he with much difficulty made his Escape.

The King
for a Treas-
ury.

The News of these Successes having put the King in a Condition, without Disreputation, to renew the Proposals for Peace, which he had offer'd the Parliament every time he had gain'd any Advantage over them, during the Campaign, he now redoubled his Instances to the two Houses at *Westminster*, to bring them to a Treaty.

Presbye-
rians un-
reasonable.

The Parliament had never been more averse to Peace than they were at this Time. The Presbyterian Cabal, which had still govern'd that Assembly, would not admit of it, unless on such Conditions as the King could not grant, and yet was for it on such Terms. They were for a King without Power, but still for a King, and only waited to reduce him to a Necessity of complying with them.

From

From that Sect another had lately sprung, under pretence of a farther Reformation, which did not only hate the King, but Kingly Government, and had therefore resolv'd to abolish it, and to set up a Commonwealth, where every Man might have a Share of the Government in his Turn.

It is not exactly known, when this strange Design was first laid by the Independant Sect, which is that we now speak of, in regard, that pretending to carry the Gospel Liberty still farther than the Presbyterians, they not only rejected Bishops, but Synods also; saying, that every Congregation was to govern it self, independant of any other, wherein they plac'd the Liberty of the Children of God. At first this new sort of Sectaries, were no otherwise distinguish'd from among the Presbyterians, than as is usual in all other Religious Societies to discern betwixt the more Zealous and the Luke-warm, the Loose and the more Rigid, by a greater Indifferency towards all Pomp and Superiority, whether in Church or State; by more Heat for restoring the Practice of the Gospel to its Primitive Purity; and by long Prayers, and Discourses which discover'd much Conceit of Inspiration, and real Enthusiasm. Their Notion of Independency made the Distinction, and gave them a Name, and the others Cause to suspect them. There were some Controversies among them, notwithstanding the which, these last adding Artifice, Flattery, fair Promises, and even good Turns to the Colour of Reformation, increas'd so much, as to form a numerous Sect of ignorant Tools, gain'd by their Hypocrisy, and a formidable Faction of ambitious and self-ended Men, their Cunning and Policy gain'd them from all Sects.

Of this Number was he, who in process of Time appear'd to be the Chief of all that Party, and who was so already, without being taken notice of. A Man born without any Inclination to Vice, or Affection to Virtue, equally dispos'd to practice all Virtues, and commit all Crimes, as either was conducing to his Designs. This Description shows *Oliver Cromwel*, before spoken of. His rare Talent for War, so fatal already to the King's Party, having added much to the Renown of his Capacity in Civil Affairs, he had gain'd such an Ascendant over all his Party, that he was become the very Soul of it. Modesty and Devotion, which of all the Virtues he

1644.

had not, he knew best how to counterfeit, had establish'd this Superiority on the more solid Foundation, in regard it was the less contradictory to the Independency they profess'd, in a Man that did not affect it, but who seem'd in all his Actions to aim at no other End but the Advancement of Religion, and the Publick Good. His indifferent Birth contributed much towards removing any Jealousy the zealous Sectaries might otherwise have conceiv'd of him; for he was well enough born, not to be contemptible, and yet not so well as to be suspected of aspiring to Sovereignty.

The Self-denying Ordinance.

Under the Conduct of this Head that Party by degrees got the Superiority in the Parliament. They had not gain'd so much at the Time I speak of, any otherwise than by Artifice and Intriguing; by which Means they so far prevail'd, as to change all the Prime Officers in the Army, putting in such as were entirely devoted to their Interest. The Slight they made use of to bring this about, was the passing of an Ordinance, under Colour of restoring the Parliament to its first Being, from which it seem'd to have declin'd, for all the Members to return to it immediately, and to quit all other Offices and Employments. This Business was so well manag'd, that tho' the House of Lords, where that Party had the least Interest, made some Opposition, the Chief Officers of the Army themselves consented to the Execution of it. The Earl of *Essex* laid down his Command as General, and had a Pension of Ten Thousand Pounds settled on him. The Earls of *Manchester* and *Denbigh* follow'd his Example; after which no Man made any Difficulty of surrend'ring up his Commission to such as the Parliament was pleas'd to appoint. The New Faction fail'd not to fill them all with their own Creatures. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Son to *Ferdinand* the Baron, succeeded the Earl of *Essex*; and *Cromwel*, the Head of the Cabal, was appointed his Lieutenant General, being dispens'd with, notwithstanding his being of the House of Commons, for quitting the Army, which shows to what a Pitch of Reputation he was then arriv'd.

Fairfax and Cromwel, Generals.

They could never have match'd two Men better, for the carrying on of the Designs they had in Hand. It was intended that *Cromwel* should Rule, and therefore most Commissions in the Army were bestow'd on his

Kin-

Kindred and Creatures. It was not yet thought fit that he should have the Supreme Command, for fear the Great ones of the Presbyterian Party, who would not have lik'd to see an Upstart at the Head of them, should be displeas'd. According to this Scheme *Fairfax* was the properest Person that could be chosen to bring about their Ends. His Birth, Service, Courage, and warlike Temper sufficiently qualify'd him to represent a prime Actor. His mean Capacity, and want of Fore-sight, which made him active without Thought, tho' heavy and hypocondriack, fit to be impos'd on under colour of Religion, made him fit to receive the Impressions given him by another, and be guided by *Cromwel*. Thus *Fairfax* made the show, and *Cromwel* manag'd all.

1644.
Fairfax's Character.

The concerting of these Measures with such Art and Application, did not shew any good Disposition to Peace on the Parliament Side. The Beginning of the Year 1645. farther discover'd their Averseness, by two considerable Actions of that Assembly. The one was the setting out of a Book call'd, *The Directory*, in opposition to the Liturgy, authorizing *Extempore* Prayer, and discharging the Publick Worship from all the Ceremonies us'd in the Church of England. The *Scots* lik'd it so well, that they approv'd of it in their Synod, and soon after in their Parliament. The other was the Execution of *Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which had been put off till then. No question was made but that Episcopacy must fall with its Supporter. The *Scots* press'd for abolishing of it; the Parliament made some Excuse for the Delay, telling them the Walls of *Jerusalem* rose slowly, but they should soon see them finish'd.

1645.
The Directory.

The Factious Party, who were for no Peace, had reserv'd that Article for the Treaty the King propos'd, and which they durst not refuse, for fear of being look'd upon as Enemies to the publick Peace; but they render'd it ineffectual, according to their Custom, by the Proposals they made.

Laud executed.

The Treaty was held at *Uxbridge*, where the Commissioners for the King, for the Parliament, and for the *Scots*, met. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, *Dorset*, and *Chichester*, the Barons *Capel*, *Seymore*, *Dunsmore*, *Culpeper*, and *Hatton*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, Mr. *Jeffer* Pal-

Treaty of Uxbridge

1645. mer, were the King's Commissioners. The chief on the Parliament side were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Denbigh, and Salisbury, the Lord Wenman, Sir Henry Vane the Younger, Pierpoint, Hollis, Prideaux, and Sr. John. The Earl of London, the Marquis of Argyle, and others of less note, were there for the Scots. Much less would have serv'd to treat about a Peace, which only one Side was for. The Fault of its not being concluded was none of the King's. He endeavour'd to make all things easy, us'd all manner of Compliance, and consented to all Articles that could have been requir'd of him by any but such as demanded Impossibilities. The Parliament insist'd on four Points, which the King's Conscience, his Honour, and his Dignity could not allow him to grant, viz. the surrendering up his faithful Servants to Justice, or rather, to the Malice of the two Houses; the yielding up of the Militia; the breaking of the Cessation of Arms in Ireland, and the abolishing of Episcopacy. Upon the rejecting of these Conditions, tho' softned with all the best Means his Majesty could find out, all Hopes of Peace ceas'd, and they broke up to renew the War more hotly than ever.

Unreasonable Demands.

Accordingly it prov'd more decisive. No sooner was it begun, than one Battel smartly fought put the worsted side into such a declining Condition, that it could never recover. This is the Pitch of Success, which I said before King Charles always wanted to subdue his Enemies, and one of the critical Actions wherein Fortune forsook him.

The King had open'd the Campaign in such manner, as gave ground to hope it would crown all the Successes of the others. He had reliev'd Chester, attack'd Leicester, the taking whereof struck a Consternation in the City of London. Fairfax, who laid Siege to Oxford, had been oblig'd to raise it, to give some check to his Progress. The Army being thus brought together, met in a Plain near the Town of Naseby, which gave Name to the Battel. Fairfax, Cromwel, and his Son-in-law Ireton, the three prime Movers of the Rebels Army, were Men that would not let slip a Moment that might decide the Quarrel. Some advis'd the King to wait a more favourable Opportunity than what was then presented; but that was the Time God had appointed to punish the Sins of the English Nation, which had now fill'd their Measure. His Majesty in War, sought all

Naseby
Fighr.

Occa-

Occasions to fight, as in Peace he should War. Those who advis'd him to gain Time, for *Goring* who was on his March to join him, were not regarded; the Counsel of those, who were for fighting, was approv'd and follow'd. Nay that Prince is said to have been afraid that the Enemy would slip from him, and that having been falsely inform'd that they were retiring, he made haste to pursue them, leaving his heavy Cannon behind, to march the lighter. He had not far to go, having but just set out, when he found them drawn up in the Fields near *Nazeby*. *Fairfax* commanded in the Center, *Cromwel* on the Right, and *Ireton* on the Left. The King having taken as much Ground as was requisite to form his Army, plac'd the two *Palatines* on the Right, at the Head of a Body of Horse, and the Lord *Langdale* on the Left to command another. *Lindsey* and *Ashley* led the Foot next to the two Princes; *Barde* and *Lisle* those next to *Langdale*; the King himself being in the Center. The Signal being given, all mov'd, and charg'd with such Fury as became a Civil War. Prince *Rupert*, according to his Custom, fell so violently upon *Ireton's* Wing, that nothing could withstand him; in a moment it was broke, routed, and put to flight. *Ireton* there receiv'd two Wounds, was disabled and taken. Had that fiery Prince been corrigible this third time; had he, instead of pursuing those that fled, too far, return'd in time, there had been an End of the Enemies Army. *Cromwel*, who had gain'd the same Advantage over the other Wing, knew better how to make use of it: He gave them he had defeated leave to run, and turning short, fell in where the King was making *Fairfax* give way. Whatever that Prince could do to encourage his Men, *Cromwel's* Effort was more successful, and better follow'd: All gave way before him. His Majesty being forsaken, was forc'd to retire; such as could escape being kill'd or taken, fled scattering, without knowing what way to go. The Victory was compleat, tho' more of the victorious Side were slain than of that which fled; the latter having lost but 600 Men, the former 1000. Bating that odds, the Parliamentarians might boast of the compleatest Victory that had been gain'd in the Memory of Man: *Ireton* was rescu'd, the Baggage, Cannon, Colours, and near 5000 Prisoners, were the least Advantages the Victors gain'd.

1645.

W From that time the Crown totter'd on unfortunate *Charles's* Head, and his new Enemies made so sure of overthrowing it very soon, that, laying aside all Respect to his Person, they presum'd to print some Letters found in his Cabinet from himself to the Queen, and from the Queen to him, with malicious Reflections on them, representing it as a heinous Crime for a King to ask for foreign Succours to reduce his rebellious Subjects, and for a Woman to endeavour to rescue her Husband from Oppression.

*The King's
Letters
printed.*

*Designs of
the Inde-
pendants.*

An inward Prefage of what was to follow, or rather a settled Resolution of what they intended to do, made them so bold to affront their Prince. Till then both Sides had made War with an Intention to carry it on to a certain Pitch, each proposing to reduce, not to destroy his Enemy. This nice Mean had several times cool'd the Heat of War, render'd Actions less vigorous, and, as has been observ'd, caus'd the slipping of some Opportunities that might have decided it. The Methods were chang'd in the Parliament Forces, because they had alter'd their Designs and Intentions; those who were then uppermost knew nothing of that Moderation; and the End they aim'd at being the Subversion of Kingly Government, it was now their Business to have no more regard for the King; to improve all the Advantage they had gain'd over him, to press and destroy him. Ill Fate so order'd it, that their Power was equal to their Malice. Most Men in Authority were of *Cromwel's* chusing, who of all Men in the World best knew how to chuse them, and as he knew how to chuse, he knew how to set them to Work. One would have thought that Vivacity he exerted at *Nazeby*, had been infus'd into all the Heads of the Party, every one of whom pursu'd this Success where he was appointed, so hastily was the Revolution coming on.

*Taunton
reliev'd.*

The Resolution taken of marching to relieve *Taunton*, then besieg'd by *Goring*, rather than pursue the King, who retir'd towards *Hereford*, was a Masterly Stroke, which sav'd the Victors much Trouble. *Taunton*, which the Parliament Historians compare to *Saguntum*, for its Constancy to that Party, could scarce hold out three Weeks, a long Siege having wasted its Men, Provisions, and Ammunition. If that Place were taken, the King had been Master of all the West of *England*, and *Goring*

ring joining him, as an intercepted Letter shew'd he intended to do, his Cause had recover'd Life; the Royal Horse, which had suffer'd least at *Nazeby*, insensibly gathering up to that Prince. In case that happen'd, a considerable Body of Troops, commanded by *Welden* in those Parts, could not fail of being cut off. The Foresight and Celerity of the Victors prevented all those Inconveniences. *Fairfax* came to *Taunton* before *Goring* could reduce it, who drew off towards *Langport*, where he hop'd to join some Brigades the King was sending to meet him. *Fairfax*'s Expedition prevented and overtook him at *Langport*, where he was routed. Few were kill'd on both sides, in all scarce 400. However the victorious Rebels took the Cannon, Baggage, 51 Colours and Standards, and 2000 Prisoners, among whom was *Porter*, Lieutenant to *Goring*, and 50 other Officers of Note. He durst not pursue those that fled far, for fear of leaving *Bridgwater*, a Place of Consequence, behind him, which he attack'd and took. *Sherburn* and *Bath* had the same Fate. *Bristol* soon follow'd, being surrender'd by Prince *Rupert*, who grown weary of fighting against Fortune, at this time made not good that Character of Undauntedness which had lessen'd the Opinion of his Discretion; he growing cautious when it was too late. He is said to have writ to the King, That he must no longer stand upon Points of Honour and Conscience, which had till then obstructed his agreeing with the Parliament; but must submit to Necessity, and give way to his Fate. This Freedom seem'd to the King so dangerous in the Example, that he took away the Government of *Oxford* from *Leg*, the Prince's Friend, and bestow'd it on *Glenham*; for his Majesty, notwithstanding those fresh Misfortunes, was not yet cast down. Since his Retreat to *Hereford*, he had made several Excursions, with such of his Troops as he could gather after the Rout at *Nazeby*, and some new Levies made in haste. He had reliev'd some Places that were besieg'd, and encouraged those to continue in his Service, whom his Misfortunes might have tempted to quit it, and return'd to *Oxford*, after several Adventures, which he had dexterously managed, to convince the *English*, that it was an Honour to a warlike Nation to have him for their King. He left behind him *Bernard Stuart*, kill'd in an Action near *Chester*, which the King had march'd to relieve. This Lord

Goring
routed.

Pr. Rupert
in despair.

1624.


Lord was the third Brother the Duke of *Richmond* lost in that War. In other respects those Excursions had not been fruitless; and had not the prudent Measures taken by his Majesty been broken by his ill Fate, he might in a short time have been again formidable to his Enemies, who began to despise him.

Montrose
 Master in
 Scotland.

Montrose had behav'd himself so well in *Scotland*, that he was Master there. He had harra's'd, beaten, and disabled the Marquis of *Arbyle*, and other Great Men, that appear'd against him in defence of the Covenant and the League of the two Nations. He had gain'd the Battel of *Killyth*, where being join'd by the *Gordons*, he entirely defeated *Baily*, killing 4000 Men, with the Loss of only six of his own. This Victory had so good an Effect, that he was Master in a short time, and went as far as *Edinburgh* to recover Prisoners. All this made for the King, and it was now reckon'd, that *Scotland* was lopp'd off from the League. *Montrose* wanted Horse to finish what was wanting of so great a Work, and the King had sent him some before his Return to *Oxford*. *Langdale* and *Digby*, who led them, had defeated the first that attempted to stop them; but fresh Enemies coming on, and finding them fatigu'd after their late Engagement, they were routed and dispers'd. On the other hand, *Lesley*, who laid siege to *Hereford* with the Confederate Army, being inform'd how Matters stood in *Scotland*, had rais'd the Siege, which did not advance much with Precipitation, and by long Marches surpriz'd *Montrose*, whom his Scouts had receiv'd, being themselves impos'd upon, and defeated him at *Selkirk* on the 13th of September.

Defeated.

Montrose recover'd that Loss, but the King was in no condition to make any advantage of his Success. In less than half a Year he had neither Towns nor Forces that could stand the Enemy. The Winter gave little Check to their Conquests. *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* being parted, each of them took as many Towns as they laid Siege to, or rather, all they summon'd: for few would stand a Siege, when there was no likelihood of Relief. *Fairfax* took *Berkley* and *Tiverton*; *Cromwel* the *Devizes*, *Lacock*, *Winchester*, and the strong Castle of *Basing*, where the Marquis of *Winchester*, a firm and zealous Catholic, being taken Prisoner, blessed God that he had preserv'd his Loyalty to his King untainted, to extreme old

King's
 Garrisons
 surren-
 der'd.

Age,

Age, being ready to seal it with his Blood; an Exam-
 ple the more remarkable at that time, in regard there
 were but few. *Cromwel* ended his Course at *Langford*,
 where having again join'd *Fairfax*, they march'd to-
 gether to *Plymouth*, and rais'd that Siege, which had
 begun almost as soon as the War. They took *Dart-
 mouth*, not far distant, tho' defended with 100 Cannon.
 Thence they advanced to *Exeter*, which they durst not
 attack before, but had caus'd it to be block'd up all the
 Winter, in order to besiege it in the Spring. They
 had begun to appoint what Works were to be carried
 on, when they were inform'd that the Prince of *Wales*,
 who had some time commanded for his Father in those
 Parts, was sending to relieve it. That Prince had made
 Overtures of Peace, and writ to *Fairfax*, who return'd
 him the same Answer the Earl of *Essex* had done, upon
 the like Occasion, that he was there to make War, not
 to treat of Peace. *Goring* had us'd his Endeavours, with
 no better Success: He now, as well as many others,
 tir'd out with so many fruitless Efforts, had at length
 quitted the Service, and embarking to go beyond the Sea,
 had left *Wentworth* 5000 Horse, the Remaint of his For-
 ces. *Hopton* had still 4000 Foot; the Prince of *Wales*
 join'd these two small Bodies, and made a little Army,
 with which he would have attempt the Relief of
Exeter. That General was upon his March, when
Fairfax being inform'd of it, advanc'd to meet him.
Hopton hearing of his Approach, intrench'd himself at *Hopton*,
Torrington. *Fairfax* attack'd him in his Trenches, and
 tho' twice repuls'd, forc'd them, and routed him. All
 the King's Foot was here entirely lost, being either killed,
 taken, or dispers'd, the Horse suffer'd little, and *Hopton*
 had presence of Mind enough in his Misfortune to save
 this small Remain of the unfortunate King's Shipwreck.
 His Conduct gain'd him Honour; but that small Num-
 ber of Men he brought off could not retrieve the King
 his Master's Affairs, which were now past all Mens
 Hopes; the Prince of *Wales* himself sailing away to the
Sorlings. *Hopton* gave ear to the Proposals made him
 by *Fairfax* for disarming, upon such Terms, as consider-
 ing the Posture of Affairs, he thought did not affect his
 Honour. He was loath to submit, but the Necessity
 was pressing, being like to be hemm'd in at the Point
 of *Cornwall*, whither *Fairfax* had pursu'd him, between
 the

1643. *Hereford* the Enemies Army and the Sea. Besides, he had Intelligence of the Condition the King was in. *Hereford*, the loyalest of all his Towns, had been surpriz'd; *Chester* was at length taken, after having been relieved by him in Person, and long defended by *Byron*, against all the Efforts of the Parliament, who fear'd all *Ireland* would come over that way to his Relief; his Forces were defeated in all the Northern Counties; the *Scots* had actually taken *Carlisle*, and laid Siege to *Newark*, after the Victory they had obtain'd in their own Country. The King himself at *Oxford* was attended by the faint Remains of a Court, consisting of Men dejected, in Confusion, divided among themselves, and giving Advice, which could not in Prudence be taken, because proceeding from Discontent; rather to be pitied for wanting good Advice to give, than to be blam'd for giving what was ill; every one claiming the Honour, when too late, of having counsell'd well, without being regarded. This desperate Posture of his Majesty's Affairs made *Hopton* resolve to treat, rather than expose a considerable number of brave Men, that still follow'd him, to perish. The Conditions were honorable. They dispers'd, every Man having leave to return home, or go beyond Sea; the Officers with their Arms, Servants and Baggage; the Soldiers with some Money to go where they pleas'd. *Exeter* soon surrender'd after *Hopton*'s Misfortune; the Earl of *Bristol* had leave to go over into *France*. *Barnstable* follow'd the Example of *Exeter*. *Mount St. Michael* and *Pendennis*, Strong Holds near the Land's End in *Cornwall* were left, with some others, that would have the Honour of being the last that surrender'd.

Exeter
and other
Places sur-
render'd.

Oxford The Victors were in hast to go to *Oxford*, where if invested. they could get the King into their Hands, they did not question being soon Masters of the Kingdom, and the Sovereignty. To this Effect *Fairfax* commanded *Irton* and *Fleetwood* to advance and invest the Town, till he could come up with all the Army, to form the Siege. His Majesty being there reduc'd to Extremity was oblig'd to take a desperate Course.

1646. *Oxford* could still hold out, but there being no Relief to be expected, whatsoever Resolution were shown, it must of necessity fall into the Hands of the Oppressors. His Majesty had again in vain attempted some Accommodation.

The King's
desperate
Condition.

modation with the Parliament; offering all in general that his Misfortunes would allow his Conscience and Honour to grant; and assuring them, that as to Particulars, he would settle them all in such manner with them, that they should have no Cause to complain, and pressing them to admit him to pass, whatsoever well-meaning Men should think necessary towards a Peace. They were so far from giving Ear to him, as to let him know, he must expect to be confin'd, if he attempted to repair to *London*, and publick Proclamation was made for all Officers to secure him, if he were found upon the Way. He is said to have offer'd the Army to put himself into their Hands, and to have receiv'd no better Answer from them. Some say that Prince had not been yet able to undeceive himself, being fully persuaded, that notwithstanding all they did, his Subjects lov'd him, and would be satisfy'd, when he should condescend to yield up some Points they were positive in; that this was his last Refuge, in which he plac'd so much Confidence, as to neglect all others. It is more likely he expected that Return of his People to him, from the Divisions which daily increas'd between the Presbyterians, and the Independants. In short, it is likely the latter were afraid that might happen; for *Cromwel*, who had a watchful Eye every where, went away to *London* on purpose to obstruct the King's being receiv'd there. There is no Question but that they having resolv'd to destroy him, were for taking of him in Arms, that so he might be render'd the more Odious to the People, and the more plausibly charg'd with those Crimes, that were to serve for a Pretence to colour the Paricide they were contriving.

The unfortunate King being thus rejected on all sides, *He flies to* was reduc'd to a Necessity of casting himself away, with the Scots. out the Liberty of chusing his Precipice. Only one was left him, and that he threw himself upon. Most of his Servants were kept ignorant of his Resolution, and were only inform'd by the Event. He had vanish'd on a sudden, disguising himself at Night, after committing the Secret to *Asburnham*, a trusty Servant, and one *Hudon*, a Minister, whom he took along with him. The News of his Escape being spread abroad in the Town, and Country about, soon reach'd the Army, that was drawing near to *Oxford*, and the Parliament. Every Man

1646.

English
and Scots
at vari-
ance.

Siege of
Oxford.

Man guess'd according to his Fancy, at the End and Design of such a mysterious Escape, till it appear'd, that his Majesty was fled to put himself upon the Scots, who still lay at the Siege of *Newark*.

This Account brought to *London* surpriz'd the Parliament the more, in regard the two Nations began not to agree so well as they had done. The Scots put too high a Value upon those Services the English thought they stood no longer in need of; they grew rich in *England*, and kept Possession of the Places they took, which was an open Breach of the Treaty. They had very lately done so at *Carlisle*, into which they put a Garrison. Some sharp Letters, and bitter Expostulations had pass'd on both sides upon this Occasion. That Breach was not well made up; the favourable Reception given the King, and that Prince's going away with them to *Newcastle*, after some Motions which seem'd to carry a good Understanding, had made it the wider; and their Minds seem'd to be quite alienated. However these Beginnings being manag'd by Complaints, Remonstrances, mutual Protestations of adhering to the Conditions of the League and Covenant, Demands, Representing of Grievances, and Breach of Treaties, and Proposals made for a final and general Peace, the Negotiations between the two Nations held long enough, before their Animosities broke out, to gain the English Time enough to reduce all the Places, that still held out for the King. For it was only towards their Sovereign that the Parliament of *England*, or rather the Cabal, us'd no Moderation. As soon as ever it was known that he was fled to the Scots, publick Declaration was made, that he was ill inclin'd to Peace, and intended to heighten the Animosities between the two Nations, to enable himself to carry on the War. Whilst the Parliament contriv'd to destroy him with the Pen, the Army went on stripping him with the Sword. They besieg'd *Oxford*, a strong Town, furnish'd with Men, Provision, and Ammunition, to endure a long Siege, supported by the Presence of the Duke of *Tork*, and the two *Palatines*, and by the Experience and Resolution of Sir *Thomas Glenham*, the Governour, a Man famous for having defended *Tork*, against three Armies, and *Carlisle* till they were reduced to eat Dogs, and Horses. A Town so provided might expect the slowest Relief, if any were to be hop'd for.

The

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

95

1646



The Noise there was about the Differences between the Parliament of *England*, and the *Scots* Army, on account of the King's Escape, might afford some Expectation; for the *English* pressing to have that Prince deliver'd to them, and the *Scots* contending to keep him, both sides were come to hard Words, Threats, and opprobrious Libels, which seem'd to presage a Rupture; but a private Contrivance, which Time discover'd, on a sudden quite chang'd the Scene. All Things appear'd to tend to a Peace between the two contending Nations; all Hopes of Relief vanish'd for the Besieg'd, not only in *Oxford*, but of all other Places, as yet maintain'd for their King, by a few Loyal Subjects. Thus they every where capitulated, all Places submitted to the Conquerors. They had Orders so to do, the King being willing to undeceive the People, as to what the Parliament had given out against him, that he was averse to Peace. His Majesty suffer'd himself to be perswaded by the *Scots*, to whom he had at first caus'd *Newark* to be surrender'd; to oblige all Men and Towns that still fought for him, to lay down their Arms, and the Strong Holds which still held out in *England* to submit to the Parliament. Thus *Montrose*, the *Gordons*, *Mac-Mahon*, and the Highlanders, who were still a considerable Party in the North of *Scotland*, were compell'd to disperse, and *Montrose* to go over into *Hungary*. The Marquis of *Ormond* had positive Orders to carry on the War against the Catholics in *Ireland*. All the Places in *Wales*, *Cornwall* and other Parts, which had not before submitted to the Parliament, now open'd their Gates. *Oxford* obtain'd Honourable Conditions, by which it was agreed, that the two *Palatines* should depart the Kingdom after a Time appointed; that the Lords of the King's Party, who were then in the Town should not be molested, for having serv'd him; that *Glenham* and his Officers, with the rest of the Loyal Troops that compos'd the Garrison, should march out with their Arms and Baggage, Colours flying, and Drums beating, to a certain Distance without the Town, where those Troops should be disbanded, and every Man should either go Home, or beyond the Sea; the City and University should have all their Privileges preserv'd; that the King's Servants should carry his Equipage to *Hampton Court*, where they should expect his Orders; that the *Seals*, and

The King
surrenders
all Places.

Oxford
Capitulation.

Sword

1646.

Sword of State should be laid up in the Library of *Oxford*. Only the Duke of *York* was excluded the Capitulation; his Enemies refusing to grant any Terms for him. They only promis'd he should be conducted with an Honourable Retinue to *London*, where the Duke of *Glocester* and the Princess *Elizabeth* were, and be there treated as they were, till such time as the King their Father was in a Condition to manage his own Household Affairs.

After the Surrender of *Oxford* no other Place thought it self oblig'd to hold out, and consequently the Victors possess'd themselves of *Bambury*, *Caln*, *Worcester*, *Wudstock*, *Ragland*, *Ludlow*, *Litchfield*, *Denbigh*, and *Penderennis*, all surrender'd, and *Hamilton* rescu'd in this last was sent back into his own Country. *Williams*, Archbishop of *York*, a Man infamous for having abandon'd the King, who had sacrific'd himself for Episcopacy, took the Castle of *Conway*.

Money offer'd the Scots.

All the small Remains of the Royal Party in every Corner of the Kingdom vanish'd upon the Loss of those Places. Justice had not so entirely abandon'd the whole Nation, but that there were still some Conscientious Persons, who offer'd up their Prayers for the King; but it was in private; such good Wishes were punish'd as High Treason. It had been hop'd the *Scots* would do more than offer up Vows; but those Hopes vanish'd, when *Cromwel's* Cabal had inspir'd the Parliament to dazle their Eyes with that Mettal which encourages the committing of the greatest Crimes. After many Negotiations, many Contests, and many Journeys backward and forward, which seem'd daily to threaten an open Rupture between the two Nations, the Parliament was advis'd to offer the *Scots* a considerable Sum of Money, under Colour of requiting their Services, but in Reality to buy the King out of their Hands.

They sell the King.

The Couclusion of that Treaty, or rather of that infamous Bargain, gave the *Scots*, or their Army fresh Trouble; for it is not reasonable to charge a whole Nation with the Actions of a few selfish Forces. They were sensible that in selling their King, they had sold their Reputation, and that all *Europe* would abhor so vile an Action; but besides the Shame of such an infamous Bargain, they could not avoid the Confusion of breaking their Words so often engag'd to that Prince, in a private Treaty

Treaty they had with him, wherein to their greater Disgrace, the Ministers of *France* had been concern'd with them.

For the better understanding of this Point, it is to be observ'd, that the King's withdrawing himself to the *Scots* Army, was not so entirely the Effect of Despair, but that there was some Foresight in it. We have authentick Memoirs that prove they themselves had first propos'd it, and sent Sir — *Murray* into *France*, to treat with the King the more safely, by the Interposition of that Crown. It is true his Majesty did not then answer their Expectation; whether he had no Confidence in them, or whether, having still Armies on Foot, and good Towns in Possession in *England*, he thought he might yet recover the Loss at *Nazeby* with more Honour by his own Power, than by the Assistance of a Nation, which had been the Occasion of all his Misfortunes. However the Treaty had not been quite broke off, and *Montrevil*, the *French* Envoy in the *Scots* Army, had set it on Foot again, some Time before the King resolv'd to retire to it. Nor is it less true, that of all the Things they had promis'd *Montrevil* in favour of that Prince, one whereof was, that they would not deliver him up to the Parliament of *England*, unless upon a good and solid Peace, there was nothing in writing; the *Scots* refusing to do any thing that might convict them of having treated with the King, contrary to their Covenant, and the League with the *English*. But the Promises they had made were so easy to be prov'd, that they could save nothing by denying them but the bare Evidence. Besides they were still answerable to *France* for having made use of its Minister to draw the King into a Snare. They knew that the President *Bellevue*, appointed by the Queen Regent, Embassador Extraordinary, to make the last Effort for the King of *England*, was actually charg'd to complain of that Wrong, and express his Resentment.

The *Scots* were sensible they had no other way to shift off this Trouble, but by settling an Honourable Peace between the King and his Parliament. They had already attempted it, and prevail'd with that Assembly to propose some Articles; not questioning, but that the Presbyterians, who were for restoring the King, would offer some reasonable Terms; and that the King, who

1646.

*Audacious
Proposals.**Indepen-
dant Vil-
laries.**The French
interpose.*

had no other Remedy left him, would be necessitated to condescend to any such.

The Project was good, and might have succeeded, had *Cromwel*, and the Independants been less sharp-sighted; but they had foreseen the Event, and forestall'd it, by the care they took to have the Proposals carry'd to high as to Unking his Majesty, and to suppress Kingly Government, which they rightly concluded he would never consent to. The Articles offer'd at *Oxbridge* were modest if compar'd with these. Those which regarded the abolishing of Episcopacy and the Hierarchy, the Power of the Militia and Garrisons, and the delivering up of the King's faithful Servants to the Malice of the Parliament, were so far enlarg'd, that they look'd not like the same. The wiser Sort of the Presbyterians, the Chief of whom the Earl of *Essex* then was, who soon after dy'd, unfortunately for the King, labour'd in vain to mollify those Articles. The Independants having gain'd the Ascendant over those of the opposite Faction, who were not clear-sighted enough to perceive what those Artifices tended to, were always sure to pass all Proposals that were disadvantageous to the King, which did not plainly express his Deposition, or Death. They had fail'd of carrying what was at first propos'd, which was, to confine him at *Warwick*, when recover'd from the *Scots*. The Earl of *Essex* had declar'd against it, and been so well seconded by the Peers, that the Bloody Cabal plainly perceiv'd, their intended Parricide could not be yet brought to bear. In all other Respects they had the Superiority in all Debates. The *Scots* were soon made sensible of it, by the small likelihood they found of moderating the Proposals sent the King by the Parliament. They were for holding them to those of *Oxbridge*, and that the Disposal of the Militia should be left to both Parties joyntly, but they could not prevail. They hop'd that *Bellicure*, who came over in the interim, would procure more moderate Courses, and were as much disappointed that way as the other: *Bellicure* was an able Man, well known before in *England*, where he had with Applause held the same Character he then came with. The Parliament gave him a good Reception, and declar'd, that the Nation was with all possible Respect and Gratitude sensible of the King of *France's* Care to reconcile their Differences; but the

Sper-

Speaker added, That the Two Houses had resolv'd not to accept of the Mediation of any Foreign Prince towards that Peace. *Belieure* did not dismay, but treated separately with the Chief of them; yet the farther he advanc'd, the plainer he perceiv'd he labour'd in vain, to make them recede from what the prevailing Faction had resolv'd to stand by. Thus despairing of any Success at *London*, he set out for *Newcastle*, thinking to engage the *Scots* Army to support the King against the *English*; or if he could not prevail, to persuade that Prince to agree with them, and to grant that, which those very Men who design'd his Destruction, caus'd to be demanded, with no other intent, than that he should refuse it.

Belieure try'd both ways to no purpose: *France* had *Why they* been a long Time in a very dangerous Condition; and could not having all the Power of the House of *Austria* to deal assist the with, under an Infant King, and a Minister that was *King*. envy'd, had no other way to act for the King of *England* but by Mediation, good Offices, and Solliciting, for fear the *English* and *Scots* should joyn with *Spain*, which Crown endeavour'd by all sorts of Artifices to draw them over to their Alliance. Cardinal *Richlieu* had shunn'd that Danger, even after the King of *England*'s Misfortunes had made *France* forget he had been their Enemy. Cardinal *Mazarine* took the same Measures. One Point in *Belieure*'s Instructions was, to remember, that the King his Master, as his Affairs then stood, could only assist the *English* Monarch with his Interest, and Endeavours, and therefore he should forbear Threats, since it was not becoming a great King to threaten and fall off. He was only permitted to exprobrate with the Confederate *Scots*, and to represent to them, that *France* now perceiv'd none of that Regard and Zeal they formerly express'd towards it, in their Proceeding; that *France* had just Cause to complain of them, for having so often violated their Promises made to its Ministers, in behalf of their own King; that they had *Murray*'s Proposals, and Credentials; and that, tho' *Montrevil* had nothing in writing, the verbal Promises they had made him were so agreeable with *Murray*'s, which they still preserv'd at *Paris*, that no Man would question the Truth of them when made acquainted.

Their Endeavours.

1646.

*The Scots
Answer.*

The Ambassador us'd all his Art and Eloquence to make these Complaints effectual; but all in vain. The Money the *English* Parliament had promis'd the *Scots*, knit them much faster together than the League and Covenant could do. The Ambassador receiv'd an Answer civil enough, as to his own Particular, and no less respectful towards his Master, to satisfy a Man, who was resolv'd to rest satisfy'd. They told him, that what *Murray* had said, not being accepted of at that Time, Affairs were alter'd, and the King's present Condition discharg'd them from the Engagement they had been willing to enter into with him, when they could have supported him. They commented upon the Promises made to *Montrevil*, and laid the Blame of Non-performance on the King.

Bellevue seeing no Prospect of saving the King, unless he help'd himself, made Application to him; conjuring him by all he held dearest, to sacrifice some Part of the Prerogative rather than lose the Crown, and to comply with some Particulars the Rebels had set their Hearts upon, by that Means to prevail on them to depart from some others. The Officers of the Army, and Prime Men of *Scotland* had long endeavour'd to persuade his Majesty to take that Course, as the only one to deliver himself, and ease them of Trouble. The Synod and the Parliament had writ to him in very pressing manner, the Army daily courted him to it; and he having declar'd, that the Matter of Religion was what lay heaviest upon him, and particularly his consenting to abolish Episcopacy, Ministers had been assign'd him to remove all Difficulties, and dispel those Scruples of Conscience, he profess'd he had on that account. The Ambassador coming at the Time, when they press'd hardest on him, and the Disputes were so far from persuading, that they seem'd to have confirm'd him in his Opinion, because of the Weakness of those Reasons the Presbyterians alledg'd against those that Learned Prince urg'd; *Bellevue* took his Part, and shew'd the Great Men of *Scotland*, that instead of convincing they settled him; that they acted indiscreetly; that they tir'd him out; that they fail'd in the Respect that was due to him; and that in that very Point they broke their Promise made to *Montrevil* of giving the King his Liberty, as to Religion. The President follow'd this Course, as

*French
Ambassa-
dor labours
for Peace.*

long

1646.

long as he had any Hopes of bringing over the *Scots* to the King's side ; but when he perceiv'd his Endeavours were in vain, he chang'd Sides, and join'd with them in persuading the King to satisfy his Parliament, particularly as to the Point of suppressing the Bishops; that Minister being of opinion, that the Controversy, whether no Bishops or false ones was not worth the hazarding of a Crown. The King was not of his Opinion, and God's Judgment lay so heavy upon that Prince, that at the same time he suffer'd the true Episcopacy of *JESUS CHRIST* to be banish'd, he became a Martyr to that extravagant Phantome rais'd by King *Henry* the 8th, or rather by Queen *Elizabeth*.

This we may say was the only Point which decided the Fate of that unfortunate Prince. The Consequence shew'd, that the granting of this might have obstructed what follow'd. So the Countess of *Carlisle* afterwards writ to the Queen ; and it was the general Notion, that it would have been so ; for that would have engag'd the Puritans of both Nations to make fresh Efforts to prevent his Destruction ; whereas he refusing to grant that main Article of their Demands, they had always one strong Link left to unite them with the Independants, notwithstanding their other Differences, and oblig'd them, even against their own Inclinations, to act in concert with them.

*Episcopacy
the King's
Ruin.*

Whilst the Treaty went on at *Newcastle*, the Means were contriving at *London* to break it off, the Independent Party being always jealous of its Effects. To which purpose they contriv'd two things ; the first was the raising of 100000 Pounds for the first Payment of the Sum promis'd the *Scots* ; the 2d, the causing a Part of *Fairfax's* Army to advance towards *Newcastle* under the Command of Major General *Skippon*, whilst *Fairfax* himself led the rest of it the same Way by easy Marches. These two Methods succeeded. The *Scots* perceiv'd they must soon come to some Resolution, and they as soon concluded which Side to comply with. The King persisted to refuse the abolishing of Episcopacy, and return'd no other Answer to the Articles sent him by the *English* ; but that they should permit him to go to *London*, and he would satisfy them, being fully persuaded, that all things would easily be adjusted, were he restor'd to the Parliament, to retrieve that Affection Subjects

1646.

*The King
carry'd to
Holmby.*

1647.

*French
Minister
clear'd.*

naturally have for their Sovereign. The *Scots* Army held to their infamous Bargain with the *English* Parliament, and whatsoever the *French* Ministers could say to dissuade them, on pretence that the Time appointed for evacuating the Places they had taken, and returning into their own Country, was near expir'd, upon the receipt of the Money agreed on, they deliver'd up the unfortunate King to the Parliament Deputies, who conducted him under a strong Guard to *Holmby*, one of his own Houses, whither he came at the Beginning of the Year 1647.

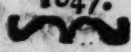
That just Prince, before his Departure from *Newcastle*, was so good as to ease *Montrevil* of a great Trouble. The Treachery of the *Scots* was insensibly retorted upon that Minister, because he had treated with them; and the least Reflection that could be made on him, was to look upon him as an indiscreet Man, who had drawn that Prince to a Precipice, where he was like to perish. His own Friends had acquainted him, that it would be expected he should clear himself as to that Point, at the Court of *France*. This the King did in Writing, declaring he was satisfy'd with *Montrevil*, who when he was still at *Oxford* had given him notice that the *Scots* were grown cold since the Treaty with *Murray*; that he had signify'd to him, that notwithstanding the fair Promises they still made, he perceiv'd such an Indifferency in the Behaviour of some of them, as made him suspect their Intentions; and therefore he could give some Hopes, but not answer for any Safety. Thus his Majesty made it appear, that if he had in his Shipwreck laid hold of an ill Plank to save himself, he had thought better to trust to that bad one, in hopes of gaining Time to find a better, than inevitably to sink all at once.

*Crom-
wel's Pra-
tices.*

The *Scots* had deliver'd up the King, not only upon condition that his Life should be safe, but that he should be respectfully us'd, and speedy Means found to settle Peace between him and the two Nations. The Presbyterians, according to their Principles, were for performing what had been promis'd the *Scots* Army; and had that Business depended on the Plurality of Votes, or the Parliament been absolute, the King would in time have been sav'd, notwithstanding all the Contrivances of *Cromwel* and his Independants to destroy him; but the *English* Army, which that Tyrant kept within reach

reach to serve his Turn, began then to pretend to a Share in the Government. That Army was at the disposal of *Cromwel* and the Independants, and the more dreadful to the Presbyterians, in regard the Independants had dexterously, under colour of good Husbandry, by degrees disbanded the Forces that lay scatter'd about in several Parts of the Kingdom, and particularly those which were commanded by Puritan Officers. Thus *Massey*, *Cook*, and other zealous Presbyterians had lost their Commissions, and their Soldiers were dismissed.

1647.



The Parliament observing the new Pretensions of the Army, consider'd of Means to obviate the ill Consequences, and put a Stop to the growing Evil in its Source; and after several Debates, resolv'd to break that Body, only leaving so many about *London* as they could keep under, to serve them upon occasion; to disband one Part, and send another into *Ireland*, where the Catholics continuing in Arms for the King, notwithstanding his contrary Orders, daily gain'd fresh Advantages; and the rest under the Command of *Fairfax* to march through those Counties where any Disturbance was to be apprehended. This Resolution met with the less Opposition, in regard that *Cromwel* and his Party thought it a sure Means to make the Army mutiny, without any other visible Cause, but their hard Usage, after so much Service done; and to engage them to turn their Arms against the Parliament, which they then thought it was time to reduce more absolutely under their Disposal, than they had been before. *Cromwel* did not only give his Vote for the passing of that Ordinance, but assur'd the Parliament of the Army's Compliance, and with his usual hypocritical Zeal, said, He would burn himself and all his Family to prevent any Mutiny.

Ordinance
for dis-
banding.

Upon these positive Promises, the Parliament concluded they could not do better than to send *Cromwel* himself to the Army, to put their Ordinance in execution. The Event shew'd that was lighting a Fire and quenching it with Oil. The Ordinance made the Soldiers mutiny, considering that instead of being rewarded, they were most of them either disbanded, or expos'd to fresh Dangers in an odious War, and in a Country where as many of the *English* perish'd by Sick-

The Army
mutinies.

1647.

ness, and Want of Necessaries, as by the Enemies Swords. *Cromwel* and his Party at first made some show of opposing the Mutiny; *Fairfax* writ to the Parliament, assuring them he had no hand in it; but the Farce lasted not long. The Soldiers underhand encourag'd by those very Men, who made shew in publick of quelling them, soon put things into such a Posture, as the Faction thought convenient to declare with them. They had compos'd a Council of the boldest of their Fellows, whom they call'd *Agitators*, to take care of their Concerns, and those *Cromwel* and his Party knew well how to manage, in order to bring the Government into their own Hands. To that end the Usurper thought it requisite first to gain the Sovereignty over the Parliament, and to do this otherwise than by Artifice, being convinc'd by Experience, that they who gain it that way fall short in several most important Points. He also found it necessary to secure the King's Person, and that way he begun by.

His Majesty was still at *Holmby* close confin'd, without being allow'd any Persons to come near him, besides those that had been appointed to attend and guard him. They had been so unreasonable as to refuse him even his own Chaplains. There had been some Conferences with him at first about Peace, or rather to persuade the People, that the concluding of it depended on him; the Conditions propos'd to him being always such, as they knew he would not consent to. However his Answer being still in general Terms, That he would satisfy his Parliament whensoever they would hear and carry him to *Westminster* to deliver his Reasons in publick; they were at a loss, and the Parliament and Army falling at variance; his Majesty had been neglected, and left to his own melancholy Thoughts, which are the natural Product of such an unfortunate Condition. He had employ'd himself in collecting and digesting them into a Book we have before mention'd, call'd, *Eikon Basilike*, or, *The Portraiture of the King*; where giving an account of his Conduct, which had been variously judg'd of, he discovers such a Mind, and such Notions, as will not allow of a double Meaning: Such is the Acuteness, the Learning, the Morality, and the Piety, according to that Prince's Religion, which appears throughout all that Work.

From

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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From this Solitude and Imployment the King was hurry'd away, about the Beginning of June, and conducted to the Army, where *Fairfax* receiv'd him with Civility, and *Cromwel* with so much Respect, as might impose upon the most mistrustful Persons. He also endeavour'd to comfort, and give him good Hopes, with several Assurances that the Change of his Abode should produce a Change in his Fortune.

1647.

The King
in the Army.

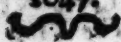
The Tyrant having the King in possession, thought of securing the Parliament, and one thing made way for the other. The Parliament being inform'd of his Majesty's Removal, publish'd an Ordinance, for conducting of him to *Richmond*, under the Guard of Colonel *Rossiter*, and for the same Officers to attend him that had been imploy'd before. The Army was not likely to obey the Commands of an Assembly it was then about pulling down, in order to rise upon its Ruin. *Fairfax*, who still preserv'd some Respect for the Parliament, as if all that had been done were carried on against his Will by the Agitators, excus'd himself for not obeying the Ordinance, and at the same time, in the Name of the Army, sent up an Impeachment against eleven Members of the House of Commons, viz. *Hollis*, *Waller*, *Maynard*, *Lewis*, *Glin*, *Long*, *Harley*, *Nichols*, *Stapleton*, *Clotworthy*, and Major General *Massey*, the rankest Presbyterians among the Commons. These were requir'd to answer to the Charge laid against them by the Army, who at the same time accus'd the Parliament of Avarice and Tyranny, requiring an Account of the Money that had pass'd through their Hands; that they should be dissolv'd, and another call'd, it being contrary to Law for them to be perpetual.

Army in-
sults the
Parlia-
ment.

These Demands and Proposals had a different Reception both at *London* and at *Westminster*. The eleven impeach'd Members declar'd they were ready to answer, and agreed they would forbear sitting in Parliament for six Months, till there could be leisure to try them. Those in the House that were of *Cromwel*'s Party, never fail'd to second his Designs, to which the greater Number were utter Strangers. The great Controversy for some time was between the Army and the City of *London*. *Cromwel*'s Creatures prevail'd with the Parliament to declare for the Army, and the Lieutenantcy of the City was chang'd by Order of the two Houses. The City being

Enters the
City, and
seizes the
Govern-
ment.

1647.



being wholly averse to that Alteration, which much weakened it, went down in a tumultuous manner to the Parliament, and oblig'd them immediately to resettle the Lieutenantcy as it was before. Hereupon, as soon as the two Houses broke up, the Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker to the Lords, and *Lenthall* of the Commons, attended by 50 more of the Members, left *London*, and withdrew to the Army, exclaiming that the Liberties of the Parliament had been invaded. In the mean while, those that remain'd at *Westminster* having chosen other Speakers, and combin'd with the City, pass'd an Ordinance that the King should be brought to *London*; that the eleven excluded Members should return to their Places, and that the City Militia should chuse a General to command the Forces to be there rais'd. Some were actually rais'd, and *Massey* appointed General; but that Army of Citizens only brav'd it till the Enemy drew near. As soon as *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* appear'd at the Head of theirs, and march'd towards *London*, after a disorderly and hasty Treaty, the Gates were open'd, and all Men submitted. The Army enter'd in triumphant manner, and being Masters, made use of their Power without any Modesty. They had brought with them those Members of Parliament that withdrew to their Camp, and conducted them back in State to their Houses at *Westminster*, and having expel'd all those they had any Jealousy of, compos'd a Parliament of their own Creatures. The Tower being surrender'd to them, they put in a Governour and Garrison of their own. The Works about the City, and the Militia were so order'd, as to give them no Disturbance. The Fleet was put into such Hands as they could confide in. Thus all things were brought under the Independent Party, who now wanted nothing to establish their Sovereignty, but the Destruction of him, who notwithstanding his being a Prisoner, still held that Character, which gives a Right to Government in a settled Monarchy.

As much as their Affairs were advanc'd, *Cromwel* was too clear-sighted not to perceive, there was still much Difficulty to bring them to Perfection. Yet so far was he from being dejected, that he resolv'd to use the utmost Diligence, and all the Villanies he knew himself capable of, rather than fail.

The

1647.

The returning Affection of the People for their lawful Sovereign, upon the sight of the Indignities his Enemies put upon him, and their Desire to restore him, and with him the Peace of the Nation, then seem'd to be the greatest Obstacles to the Parricide the Monster was contriving. To remove them, he resolv'd by his Artifices to revive the publick Malice against that Prince, representing him as a Man not to be gain'd by any good Offices, inflexible in his Resolutions, and positive in rejecting all Methods propos'd to him for disposing things to Peace. The Generals having to this purpose march'd the Army out of *London*, and sent it to incamp about *Hampton-court*, the King, who had been left during the City Expedition at a House in *Bedfordshire*, was conducted to that Royal Palace, where *Cromwell's* Artifice produc'd a new Scene, which put all *Europe* in hopes that there would be very soon a strange Turn in the King of *England's* Fortune. He look'd no longer like a Prisoner, but like a great King attended by a numerous and officious Court. He saw his Children, convers'd with his Friends, had the liberty of writing to the Queen, and receiving her Answers. All Men paid their Respects to him, and none did it with more outward Formality, or express'd more Zeal for his Service, or a more earnest Desire to remove all Obstacles that stood in the way to his Reinstalment, than the artful *Cromwell*.

In the mean while the Parliament being wholly devoted to the prevailing Faction, continu'd to make such Proposals as they knew the King could not grant, without unkinging himself; and that Prince having always declar'd his Conscience would not permit him to abolish Episcopacy, which he look'd upon to be of Divine Institution, they never fail'd to put that home to him, without the least Qualification. And to make the more sure of his Opposition, *Cromwell*, who always acted two Parts, dissuaded him at *Hampton-court* from consenting to the Proposals he contriv'd should be sent him from *Westminster*, putting him in hopes that the Army, which among other deceitful Allurements to insnare him, had made other Proposals that seem'd not altogether so intolerable, would at last offer such as should be agreeable to his Conscience and Honour.

The

1647.
*Applicati-
 on for him
 to the Par-
 liament.*

The King's Positiveness in refusing to Sign those Particulars that were tender'd to him, and in demanding a personal Treaty, that he might be heard in Parliament, rais'd Clamours against him, as a Man obstinate in his own Sentiments, and contributing nothing to Peace; but these Reports were too well known in general to make any great Impression on those that were not absolutely devoted to the Independent Party. Almost all the rest of *England*, *Scotland*, the Neighbouring Nations, and in a Word, all those who look'd on with any thing of Justice, exclaim'd against those Proceedings, and tho' in a fearful and lowly way, made *Cromwel* and his Party sensible, that the Publick was not at all dispos'd to approve of their Parricide, but that if perhaps it could be brought about, that mighty Number of People who abhorr'd the Villany, might joyn together to obstruct the perpetrating of it, or to punish the Attempt. For on the one Hand the People were provok'd at the ill Usage of the King, and did not mutter so low, but that their Complaints reach'd the Ears of those that were the Occasion of it; and on the other, the *Scots* taking a more just Method of Proceeding than they had done, declar'd to the Parliament, that their Nation was surpriz'd they should persist to refuse the King a Personal Treaty, and to admit to give the Reasons for what he had done, in an Assembly instituted to be his Supreme Council. Besides, the Factious Party were jealous of all that came from *France*, and not without Reason. Notwithstanding Cardinal *Mazarine* took care to remove those Fears, to prevent the Parliament's entering into an Alliance with *Spain*, which then courted them to it; yet their Jealousies were daily renew'd by the Queen's frequent Messages, by *Montrevil's* Intreaques in *Scotland*, in behalf of the confin'd King, and the good Offices of *Bellievre*, who then came back again, but could not manage Affairs so dextrously, notwithstanding the Prime Minister's Instructions, and his own Cautiousness, as not to be look'd upon as a Favourer of the King, and to have his Nation judg'd of by his Inclination. The Generality of the People in *France* made it appear by their common Discourses, that the Cardinal's Dexterity in managing the Rebellious *English* was the Effect of an *Italian* Policy, which the *French* Nation did not approve of. There were Commotions already in
some

some Counties. The Presbyterians were not suppress'd, but still the greater Number. Even that Army, which gave the Independants so much Advantage over them was not altogether unanimous. The Agitators could not endure that *Cromwel* and his Creatures should thrust themselves into the Government, in which they pretended to have a Share. They were Enemies to Monarchy, and absolute Republicans, and already perceiv'd that *Cromwel* and his Adherents only pretended to be so in order to get all the Sovereignty into their own Hands. Many of the Soldiers and Officers of the Army were now so us'd to make their Court and see the King, as long as it was permitted them, that it was observ'd they were well inclin'd towards him.

Cromwel perceiv'd these Things and prevented the Consequences. Here the Loyal Historians assign him a Piece of Policy, which they do not well make out, nor can it easily be done. They pretend, that in order to alienate the Minds of the People from their Sovereign, as a Man averse to Peace; to incense the Army against him, as a Prince that did not keep his Word, they having made him promise not to depart *Hampton Court* without their Consent; and to render him Blameable and Contemptible among Strangers, as if he had been of an unconstant Temper that would conclude nothing; *Cromwel* had underhand put him in Fear of a Design to murder him, that so he might attempt an Escape, and by such Means as do not appear to us, caus'd him to be conducted to the Isle of *Wight*, where the Governour, purposely appointed by that Rebel to serve his Turn, seiz'd that unfortunate Prince, and became one of the principal Actors in that Conspiracy, which brought him to his End. There are two Things in this Account which puzzle me; The first is, That those Persons the King made use of in his Escape, who had Horses ready for him, when having cross'd the River from *Hampton Court*, were *Berkley*, *Leg*, and *Asburnham*, Men wholly in the Interest of their Master, and never accus'd of having betray'd him; The other, That the King's first Design was to go to *London*, and being dissuaded from it, he sought for a Ship to go over to *Guernsey*, and meeting with none, Necessity compell'd him to take Sanctuary in the Isle of *Wight*, whether Chance, and no Choice seem to have conducted him.

Designs to
defame the
King.

1647.

To murder him.

He fled to the Isle of Wight.

him. I leave this Point to be clear'd by those who have better Information than my self, to follow those who more plainly tell us, That *Cromwel* and his Party perceiving the Difficulty of having the King condemn'd by publick Consent to increase, and fearing to be themselves at last condemn'd by the People, resolv'd to make away with him, whilst they had the Power in their Hands to reap the Advantage of their Parricide; that their Secret taking Wind, the King had notice of it from his Friends, who press'd him to make his Escape; that he was against it at first, not to break the Word he had given the Army, that he would not depart *Hampton Court*; but being over-persuaded that his Promise did not bind him in such eminent Danger, as that which threatned him, he consented to fly, and finding no other Place of Retreat, took into the Isle of *Wight*, where the Traitor *Hammond* detain'd him, sending to acquaint the Parliament, then in pain for his Escape, that he was fallen into his Hands. Some say, that at the same Time *Cromwel* was contriving the King's Death, he treated with him about an Accommodation, by the Interposition of *Barclay*. It will be no easy Matter for History to decide, whom he intended to impose on. My private Opinion is, that he finding it safer and more suitable to his Ambition to destroy the King, design'd to amuse him by a Treaty, which in case of any Disappointment might have been a Shift to save him from the general Calamity, had the Storm then rising against his Party sunk it. Whatsoever End that artful Villain propos'd to himself in the Treaty, he knew how to make a great Advantage of it towards decrying the King's Conduct among those who had been let into the Secret of that Treaty; and manag'd it so well, that even in *France* it was believ'd the King had deceiv'd him. The Account given of this Matter by *Siri*, who took it from Memoirs no way favourable to that Prince, shows what the Minister thought of it.

The same that *Cromwel* did underhand to call in question his Majesty's Sincerity and good Intentions on account of his Escape was done openly by his Party; and yet without much Success. That Prince, before his Departure from *Hampton Court*, had left a Note under his own Hand, on a Table, importing, that tho' he fled from the Wicked Designs of his Enemies, he shun'd not the

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

III

1647

the Opportunity of giving Peace to his People, but should joyfully embrace any that was offer'd him, and use all Endeavours to advance it; that he only desir'd to be heard in his Parliament, and explain himself there, to convince all the Nation that he was not unworthy of the Name of, *Father of his Country*.

This Note, and a Letter his Majesty writ from the Isle of *Wight*, after *Hammond* had receiv'd Orders from the Parliament to secure him there, reviv'd the Murmurs of the People, and the Instances of the *Scots*, to oblige the Parliament to consent to a Personal Treaty. So earnestly were they sollicitated, that the Cabal thought it not safe to refuse them. However, in order to elude it, as a fatal Stroke to the Party, they concluded to offer the King Four Preliminary Articles, which they knew he would not consent to, and after that they said, he should be allow'd to repair to *London* in Person, and to treat with his Parliament. The Articles were, that he should yield up the Disposall of the Militia to that Assembly; that he should recall all Proclamations set out by him against those who had been in Rebellion; that he should exclude all those Peers he had created since the carrying away of the Great-Seal, from sitting among the Lords; and that he should allow the Parliament to continue in the same manner, as long as they should think fit.

The *Scots* Deputies having seen these Preliminaries, abhor'd them, not only as a Hardship, but as an Artifice invented to overthrow Monarchy. They protested against it, and publish'd their Protest.

Scots Protest.

The King was at *Carisbrook*, a strong Castle in the Isle of *Wight*, when those Articles were brought him, about the latter end of *December*, by the Earl of *Denbigh* and other Deputies of the Parliament. It is easy to guess at the Answer. The Cabal concluded it would be in the *Negative*, and hop'd to make a mighty Advantage of it, towards drawing over of the People to their Party, thinking to delude them by that Offer they made to the King; but soon perceiv'd, that no Man could be impos'd upon by so gross an Artifice; that the Prince was as much lamented as before; that the Mutterings against those Tyrants continu'd; that the Nation was ripe for Commotion; and that they only waited a favourable Opportunity to declare in several Places. Being

Treaty at the Isle of Wight.

1647.

W

ing resolv'd to prevent that Stroke by a bold Execution of the Villainy they design'd, they took all Precautions their Foresight could suggest against the Practices of the Scots, the Commotions in London, and the Attempts of the Royalists. They order'd *Hammond* to confine the King closer at *Carisbrook*, to remove his Friends and Servants from him; they caus'd the Isle of *Wight* to be strictly guarded, sending *Rainsborough* that way with some Ships. Thus they quell'd all the Commotions in their Army, for some time quieted the restless Temper of the Agitators, and dispos'd all Men to proceed agreeably to the Will of the Generals. They also sent 30 Members of Parliament, they did not thoroughly confide in, into their several Counties, upon sundry Commissions. After which, the Earl of *Denbigh*, and the other Deputies returning, the two Houses met at the beginning of the Year, 1648, and the King's Answer being read, *Cromwel* and his Party took off the Mask in the House of Commons; where *Ireton* speaking first, said, *The Patience of the Highest Court in England has been too long abus'd. The King by his Refusals plainly shows he will have no Peace with us; that he has devoted his People to all the Calamities of a War we are not like to see the End of: In a Word, that he has not the Heart of a King towards his Subjects. Nature and the Law of Nations teach us what is our Right upon the like Occasions. The Contract between Kings and their Subjects contains a mutual Ingagement, in the People to obey their Kings, and in the Kings to protect their People; our King ceases to protect, or look upon us as his Subjects, and consequently we are discharg'd from the Duty and Fealty we were oblig'd to by the mutual Contract made between our Fore-fathers and his Ancestors. The Eyes of all Europe are upon us, to see what Resolution so many wise Men will at last come to, in an Affair which concerns the Welfare of the Nation. It lies in you to take such a one as you shall think most agreeable to your Zeal and the Publick Good. You have an Army, whose past Services give sufficient Assurance of what you are to expect for the future; rely upon it they will stand by this Assembly. I am directed to assure you of their Fidelity, and make no Difficulty to stand bound for it. Cromwel spoke after his Son-in-law, and only enlarg'd upon what he had said, urging, That nothing more was to be expected from a Prince whom God had hard'n'd; that it*

*Ireton's
Speech.*

*Crom-
wel's
Speech.*

was

was a Comfort, the Parliament had sufficient Authority to manage the Government; that they should not want for Power, an Army so often Victorious being resolv'd to support such a Form of Government as they should establish, at the Expence not only of the Soldiers; but of the General's Blood; that they ought to take care not to engage so many brave Men in such a dangerous Cause, in order at last to leave them expos'd to the Vengeance of the Common Enemy; that their Safety and the People's Happiness depended on the Unanimity of those two Bodies; that Division would prove their Destruction; that there must be some Compliance with the rough Temper of the Soldiery; and even a preventing of those violent Courses they might be inclin'd to, in case they should suspect there was any Design of an Accommodation; which would deliver them from the Scruple of disappointing those who were not true to themselves. One *Wroth* is said to have had the Impudence to add, that the King ought to be confin'd to some Inland Strong Hold, to end his Days in Prison; that the Parliament should govern the Nation; and in short, it matter'd little what sort of Government they appointed, provided Kings and Devils had no more to do with it.

As Powerful as *Grommel* and his Party were in the House, it was long before the entire abjuring of the King could find a sufficient Number of Votes to pass. Those who propos'd it were fain to give Assurance, that there should be no farther Proceedings against that Prince. Upon that Promise it pass'd, and the House made an Ordinance, containing these four Articles, That there should be no more Addresses from the Parliament to the King; that no Person should apply to him without their Leave; that they would receive no Messages, or Letters from him; and that whosoever should transgress any of these Particulars should suffer as in Cases of High Treason:

Votes of
Non-Ad-
dresses.

The Lords made more Difficulty of passing those Votes, than the Commons. Most of the Peers plainly perceiv'd, that as things were manag'd, their Privileges must fall with the Monarchy, that as soon as there was no King there would be no more Nobility; that all Ranks would be made equal, and that those who had pull'd down the Sovereign would easily overthrow the

The Lords
see their
Ruin.

1648.



Inferiors. It was also privately reported, that the Cabal design'd to suppress the House of Lords, and confound both Houses together. Self-interest made the Lords strongly oppose the Ordinance for abjuring the King, which they would not have pass'd, had not some Troops been march'd up and quarter'd at St. James's and Whitehall. Then many, following the Example of the Earls of Northumberland, Manchester, Warwick, and Raglan, withdrew, entering their Protest against that extravagant Ordinance; but those who remain'd pass'd it, and were complimented by the Army, and Fairfax assur'd them it was a false Report spread abroad by their Enemies, that either he, or his Friends intended to suppress the Upper House.

Crom-
wel's Vil-
lany.

Whilst these Advances were openly made towards destroying of the King, Cromwel and his Party in private Companies omitted nothing that might ruin his Reputation, and render him odious to the People. That false Man, making use of that singular Talent of Hypocrisy he had, to impose on the Ignorant, sometimes pretended to Inspiration, and would be thought to have Orders from Heaven, for committing those Villanies which drew Vengeance on the Earth. He was heard to say, That being one Day full of Zeal for restoring of the King, he would have fought the Lord for his Assistance in an Affair of so much Difficulty, but that when he would have pray'd, his Speech fail'd him, which he look'd upon as a Token that God had cast off his Majesty, and would have him Reign no longer.


Calumnies
against the
King.

That nothing might be omitted which could conduce to the Destruction of that Prince, the Cabal set out a printed Declaration against him, in the Name of the Parliament of England, wherein they had carefully rak'd together all the most injurious Calumnies that Malice could invent; for looking back through the whole Course of his Life, they began by insinuating a Suspicion, as if he had been guilty of murdering King James, his Father, and of assisting King Lewis the 13th of France, to take Rochel from the Protestants. By this Beginning, every Man may guess what the rest was; the Faction expected great Matters from it, but all their Cunning fail'd them in this Point; the Answer publish'd, and a Declaration set out by the King himself, directed to the People, wherein, after giving an Account of his Con-
duct,

duct, he pathetically express'd the Condition he was reduc'd to, caus'd an almost general Indignation against those Tyrants, and as many as durst made it appear.

That Antimonarchical Cabal never stood upon more *Efforts* ticklish Ground, and the nearer the Spring drew on, *for the* the more the Danger it was in, of falling under the *King.* Weight of the Preparations made to pull it down, appear'd. Within less than three Months all *England* was up in Arms for the Juster Side. At the Beginning of *April*, the Apprentices, and Multitude in *London*, cry'd, *God save the King*, and rais'd such a Commotion, that the *Lord Mayor* was forc'd to withdraw into the *Tower*. In *May* the People of *Surrey* flock'd together, proceeded in a Tumultuous Manner to *Westminster*, and presented a Petition to the Parliament, the Purport whereof was, That the King should be restor'd; that the Personal Treaty he demanded should be immediately granted; and that the Army should be disbanded. At the same Time, several Commanders having gather'd Forces underhand, either took the Field, or shut themselves up in Strong Holds they had forc'd, or surpriz'd, and declar'd for the Captive King. There were some in all Parts, and almost in every County. *Wade* in *Sussex*, and *Goring* in *Cornwall*, had many Followers and Friends. *Langhorn*, *Poyer* and *Powel* had a Body of 8000 Men in *Wales*, and *Pembroke Castle*. The *Kentish* Men had no less Forces in their County, which Army was the more Formidable, because headed by most Men of Note in those Parts, having *Maidston* there, and *Colchester* in *Essex* for Places of Retreat. In the Heart of the Kingdom, towards *Keynton*, the Earl of *Holland*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, formerly a zealous Parliamentarian, and one of the strong Supports of the Party; the Young Duke of *Buckingham* and his Brother had gather'd 500 Horse, and daily expected to be reinforc'd. Another Body was possess'd of *Pomfret*, and kept the Country about in awe. *Glenham* had surpriz'd *Carlisle*, and *Langdel* possess'd himself of *Berwick*, being both ready to joyn the *Scots*, that were marching towards them. In short, after long Debates *The Scots* in the Parliament of *Scotland*, between the Faction of *enter* *Earl Argyle*, which was Antimonarchical, and that of *Hamil-* *gland* *ton*, who pretended even to Death a great Zeal for the King,

1648.

 King, which no Man could ever be persuaded to believe, the *Scots* advanc'd under the Command of that Duke, and enter'd *England*, where their Declarations had before made known their Approach, and the Reasons they had for so doing. Whilst all Things were in this Ferment a-Shore, another Storm broke out at Sea, which it was generally thought would have sunk the Faction. When it was least expected, Eight of *Rainsborough's* Ships refus'd to obey his Orders, publicly declaring, they would for the future receive none but from the Prince of *Wales*. That Prince was then in *Holland*, with his Brother, the Duke of *York*, which last, disguis'd in Woman's Apparel, had made his Escape from the Earl of *Northumberland*, or rather from the Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwel*, for the Duke did that Earl the Justice to declare he had us'd him well. The Ships above-mention'd sail'd over to the Prince in *Holland*, where being joyn'd by some others, they compos'd a Squadron of 20 Sail, and made for the River of *Thames*.

*Ships go
ever to the
Prince.*

*The King's
Parties
oppress'd.*

Had the Faction proceeded in a less Regular Manner, in their Vigorous Methods for opposing so many Enemies, their Resolution might have been look'd upon as the Despair of Rebels, who being past Hopes of Pardon, thought their Safety consisted in expecting none. Their Actions were too well concerted, not to discover that he who influenc'd them took such Measures as were dictat'd by true Courage, and not by the blindness of Despair. He had the entire Disposal of the Army, and much more of him that commanded it; and made use of it at first to quell the *Londoners*, and *Surrey* Mutiniers, by inflicting such Punishments, and using Precautions that had the intended Effect; after which dividing the Army into small Parties he sent them to those Parts where the Royalists were weakest. *Fairfax*, *Lambert*, and he commanded the rest, every one marching a several Way; *Fairfax* Southward, *Lambert* into the North, and *Cromwel* into *Wales*. The Commotions in *Suffolk* and *Cornwal* were soon suppress'd. *Wade* and *Waller* were too Weak to hold out long. *Langhorn* was much more Formidable, as having a tolerable Army in a Country always well affected to the King; however *Horton* defeated him, with scarce above 3000 Men, detatch'd from the Rebel's Army, so great is the Difference between Veteran Troops us'd to Discipline and Fire,

*Welsh
defeated.*

Fire, and those which are rais'd in a hurry, and led to Action in confusion. 3000 Prisoners made their Victory remarkable. *Langborn* and *Powel* made their Escape to *Pembroke*, which *Poyer* kept for them. They thought themselves safe there, when *Cromwel* appear'd, who having follow'd close after *Horton*, besieg'd them in that Place. That dreadful Name did not at all discourage them. Being fully persuaded that the stopping of that General would be as good as a Victory, in regard that the Faction had so much Business on their Hands elsewhere, they resolv'd to stand out, and defended themselves long enough to have weary'd out any other Man as little us'd to be baffled as *Cromwel*.

During the time of that Siege, the *Kentish* Men ran Colchester almost the same Fortune as the *Welsh*. *Fairfax* routed them at *Maidstone*, and drove *Goring*, a famous Cavalier, who had gather'd some Troops, into the County of *Essex*, where they join'd by the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, and others, the General of the Rebels forc'd them to shut themselves up in *Colchester*, which he besieg'd, and lay before it a long time, as *Cromwel* did at *Pembroke*.

This Delay drew the Faction into greater Danger than that their Victories had began to rescue them from. The Heads of that bloody Crew, which aim'd at the King's Life, were abroad with the Army, and as Matters then stood, his Majesty had just Grounds to hope, that they would be long taken up with such Business as they could not leave unfinished. Upon this Notion several Persons, whom only Fear withheld from opposing the Independent Party, perceiving this Opportunity of shaking off the Yoke, resolv'd to make use of it. The King's faithful Servants, the Presbyterians, and most of the Peers, who notwithstanding *Fairfax's* Assurances, foresaw their own Downfall under a Popular Government, conspir'd together to carry on this Design. With them join'd the City of *London*, tir'd with the War, and the Insolency of the Army, as also most of the Commons, who were not link'd with the Independents, either by Doctrine, or Dependence on *Cromwel*, or a Republican Spirit. Thus in spite of those three sorts of Men, and their considerable Number in the lower House, the better Part of the Parliament, prevail'd upon by their own Interest, or the Persuasions

Votes for a
Treaty
with the
King.

1648.



of those above-mention'd, resolv'd to recall the Members of the lower House that had been expell'd by the Army; to enter again upon a Treaty with the King; to revoke the Ordinance for Non-Addresses; and to consent to his Desire of a personal Treaty. It was propos'd to bring him to *London*; but the *Cromwellians* warded off that Blow, and it was concluded, that Deputies from both Houses should be sent to the Isle of *Wight* to treat with him. The Choice of the Place was left to him, *Carisbrooke* being an improper Confinement to negotiate Peace in. He pitch'd upon *Newport*, and went thither with a considerable Train, the Parliament having given Leave to his Servants and Attendants to return to him.

*The Treaty
at New-
port.*

The Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Manchester*, and *Middlesex*, and Viscount *Say*, Deputies for the Upper House, repairing to *Newport*, with Ten from the Lower, the Conferences began there about the latter end of *September*. The Parliament being then influenc'd by the Spirit of Presbytery, which was to restore him to the Title, without any Authority, the Deputies laid before him no other Conditions to sign, but the last he had rejected, being the most unreasonable they had ever put to him, as the Reader may judge by the Heads of them I here insert.

*Parlia-
ment's un-
reasonable
Demands.*

The Parliament urging the Necessity they had been under of taking up Arms in their own Defence, as the Ground of their Pretensions, demanded of the King,
1. That he should make void all Proclamations, Orders, or Declarations made on that account against the two Houses, and those who had espous'd their Quarrel.
2. That he should entirely suppress Episcopacy, and sell the Bishops Lands; abolish the Liturgy and confirm the Directory; establish the Presbyterian Government in Churches, sign the League and Covenant, and oblige his Subjects to sign it; curb the Catholics, and cause their Children to be brought up Protestants; order certain Oaths against the Pope, the Eucharist, Images, and Purgatory, to discover such as were of the *Roman* Faith, and obstruct the saying of Mass in any Part of the Kingdom.
3. That he should yield up to the Parliament the Disposal of the Militia, with full Liberty to use it as they thought fit, to raise Subsidies for the Maintenance of it, wherein the King nor his Successors should

should have no Hand, for the Term of 20 Years; after which it should be lawful for the said Parliament to raise Armies, set out Fleets, impose Taxes for the Support of them, and that even in case the Prince should refuse to consent to it. 4. That he should make void all Treaties concluded with the Catholicks of *Ireland*, leave the Management of that War wholly to the Parliament, and discard the Lord Lieutenant, the Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal, and all other Officers put into Places since the first Truce, their Employments to be fill'd by the Parliament. 5. That the Parliament should be empower'd for the future to raise Taxes for the publick Service, as they should think fit. 6. That all Titles of Honour conferr'd by his Majesty, since the Year 1642. should be suppress'd, and that for the future such Persons as had any conferr'd on them should not be allow'd to sit among the Peers, without the Consent of both Houses. 7. That all those who had sided with the King should be punish'd according to the Degree of Affection they had shew'd for his Interest; and particularly that no Pardon should ever be granted to the two *Palatine* Princes, the Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Bristol*, *George Digby*, *Jermin*, *Goring*, *Hopton*, *Biron*, *Langdale*, *Hyde*, who was afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor, and Father-in-law to the Duke of *Tork*, the Marquis of *Winchester*, and all Catholicks who had serv'd their Prince. I have set down these Names out of a greater Number, as being the Persons most remarkable in this History, and best known in the Country where I write. 8. That all considerable Places in the Kingdom should be bestow'd by the Parliament for the Term of 20 Years. 9. That a new Great Seal, made by Order of the two Houses, should be acknowledg'd the true Great Seal of *England*. 10. That the Charter and Liberties of *London* should be ratify'd over again. 11. That the Court of Wards, and all Places depending on it should be suppress'd.

There was so little likelihood of the King's consent to such Proposals, from any Part whereof the Commissioners had no Power to recede, that as soon as they were made publick, those who wish'd for Peace, lost all Hopes of it, and those that were against it ceas'd to fear. Yet both were in some measure mistaken. The King yielding to his ill Fortune, and flattering himself that

1648. better Times might restore those Flowers to the Crown, which he suffer'd to be torn from it, resolv'd to grant those Demands he had so often in vain endeavour'd to lessen. After many learned Speeches and frequent Conferences, wherein he did not observe that he spent too much of his Time, which was then so precious; he pass'd Nine of the Parliament's Proposals, without any Alteration. In the 2^d concerning the abolishing of Episcopacy, he consented that the Arch-Bishops should be quite laid aside, and the Bishops depriv'd of all Jurisdiction as to Church Government, but not as to conferring of Orders; nay he condescended so far, as that they should not exercise even that Function, till a Synod assembled by the Parliament had been held, wherein there should be 20 Divines of his own Nomination, promising to submit to whatsoever should be there resolv'd. Neither would he have the Bishops Lands sold, but consented, that after allowing those in whose Possession they were something to subsist on, they should be made legal Estates for Lives or for Years, not exceeding 99, at the old, or some more moderate Rent, after which they should return to the Crown. The 7th Article, concerning those who had serv'd him, whom they would have sacrific'd to the Malice of the Parliament, was that which occasion'd the greatest Difficulty to temper it so as to preserve his Friends, and not to break with the Commissioners; However he manag'd it so, that both Sides seem'd to be satisfy'd, allowing those who had serv'd him to be proceeded against, but upon such Conditions as secur'd their Lives without quite ruining their Fortunes.

More Informations.

An Accident somewhat disturb'd the peaceable Progress of those Conferences. The Parliament just at this time had been inform'd, that the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had receiv'd Orders to come to an Agreement with the Catholick Party, and join them, in order to relieve the King. It was a Capital Crime in that Prince, always insulted, imprison'd, and continually in danger of his Life, to seek Relief against his Persecutors. Some Letters he had writ, not only to Kings his Allies to crave their Assistance, but to the Queen his Wife and the Princes his Sons, being intercepted, were publish'd as Attempts to disturb the publick Peace. The Order given to the Marquis

quis of *Ormond* had almost the same Effect; however Peace being intended, they were satisfy'd that the said Order should be revok'd, which the King promis'd to do when all was concluded.

Successes of the Rebels.

That Conclusion then seem'd to be out of dispute, and nothing but that Prince's ill Fate could obstruct it. Nothing was wanting but Time, which had been wasted, as is usual in all Treaties, upon Preliminaries, and needless Debates; but the worst was, that the Faction Party had spent too little in putting an end to the troublesome War, that broke out on every side of them. That Summer afforded the Heads of the disaffected Party so many Advantages and Victories, that tho' *Cromwel* was kept at the Siege of *Pembroke* till July, and *Fairfax* at that of *Colchester* till September, yet the War was concluded before the Winter came on. The Earl of *Holland* and the Duke of *Buckingham* had been defeated at *Kingston*, and at *St. Neots*, by two Colonels detach'd from *Fairfax's* Army. The Earl was taken; the Duke, after losing the Lord *Francis*, one of his Brothers, narrowly escap'd. *Rossiter* had dispos'd *Pomfret* towards a Surrender, by an Action, wherein he kill'd many of the Defendants. The Earl of *Warwick*, sent to command as much of the Navy as remain'd under the Rebels, had disappointed all the Designs of the Prince of *Wales*. *Cromwel* having reduc'd *Pembroke*, and made all that defended it Prisoners, had hasten'd into the North, to succour *Lambert*, who had to do with Duke *Hamilton* and 20000 Scots, besides *Langdale* and *Glenham* with a considerable Body of *English* Royalists, the one being Master of *Carlisle*, and the other of *Berwick*.

Cromwel and *Lambert* had scarce 10000 Men between them; the Conduct of those two Commanders, and the Goodness of their Troops, made amends for the smallness of the Number. Meeting with Duke *Hamilton* and *Langdale* near *Preston*, they fought and routed them. The two Generals got off with sufficient Forces to make head against the Conquerors, who were dispers'd in pursuit of those that fled; but so great was their Consternation, that they were every where overtaken and defeated. Duke *Hamilton* and *Langdale* were among the Prisoners, the Number of whom amounted to about 9000, whereof many were Persons of Quality.

Whilst

1648.
Cromwel
in Scot-
land.

Whilst several Commanders, with the several Bodies under them, pursu'd the Remains of the scatter'd Army, Cromwel losing no Time, was march'd into Scotland, where the Earl of Lanerick, Brother to Duke Hamilton, and Monro, had some Forces, which kept the Marquis of Argyle and his Party in awe. He had by the way taken Carlisle and Berwick, and advanc'd to Edinburgh, where he was by some receiv'd as a Friend, by others as a Conqueror, but by all as absolute Master; some submitting through Good-will, and others by Compulsion. There the League was renew'd between the two Kingdoms, and Cromwel receiv'd the Title of Conservator of Scotland.

Colche-
ster taken.

During this Expedition, Colchester at length surrend'r'd to Fairfax, who having taken it at Discretion, had shot Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, and secur'd the Earl of Huntington, Capel, and Goring; after which he had been to visit some Places he thought fit to show himself in, and was gone to incamp at London, where his Army increas'd by the Accession of such Forces belonging to the Faction, as had soonest dispers'd their Enemies.

The Ar-
my's Practi-
ces and Re-
monstrance

There it was those violent Measures were taken, which broke off the Treaty between the King and Parliament, and render'd the Event so fatal to that Prince. Ireton, Son-in-law to Cromwel, and so like his Father-in-law, manag'd that Affair, pursuant to the Instructions he receiv'd, and brought it about. At first he made use of Artifice. Whilst he and Fairfax, a Tool easy to be manag'd by any Man that understood his Weakness, seem'd peaceably to wait the Issue of the Conferences, he underhand, by his Emissaries, among whom Parson Hugh Peters exerted his Talent for Villany, sometimes incited one Regiment in the Army, sometimes a Country Corporation, and sometimes a Cabal of Officers, to petition the Parliament against the Treaty, and demand that all Persons who should be convicted of having occasion'd the late Troubles, might be punish'd without any Exception. This Scene lasted some time, but being thought too gentle, and the Parliament, which was for Peace, still going on their own way, without taking notice of them, the Actors, fearing they might commit the same Fault that Assembly had been guilty of, which was losing their Time in useless Dispositions, took off their Mask, and at-

attacking both the King and Parliament at once, publish'd the most infamous Libel that had yet been seen, under the Title of a Remonstrance from the Army and People of *England* to the two Houses: Wherein, after complaining of the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, and railing at the King, they demanded, that he should be punish'd, as guilty of all the Blood shed in the late Wars; that certain Members of Parliament by them nam'd should be prosecuted; that the Revenues of the Crown and Church should be apply'd to pay the Army; that the then Parliament should be dissolv'd, and that a Number of Representatives of the People should be appointed to manage the Government for the future.

The Vileness of these Proposals, and the indignation *They seize* conceiv'd against them, put the Parliament into such a *the King.* Temper of Resolution, as they had never before been in, unless it were against the King. Excepting those that were of the Faction, all the rest detested, and resolv'd not to regard them. Thus the Treaty was continu'd, for the finishing whereof nothing was wanting but a Declaration of the two Houses, that the King's Concessions were satisfactory. But *Fairfax* now grown the bolder, because *Cromwel* was come up, laying aside all Formalities, march'd 10000 Men into the City, at the same time that another Body went to remove the King from *Newport*, first to *Hurst-Castle*, and then soon after to *Windsor*. The Commissioners were still in Conference with his Majesty, when they came to tell him he must remove. This Change surpriz'd him not so much as it did those Commissioners. He heard the Message with such Resolution as mov'd their Compassion, and more especially, when taking his Leave of them, he said, *I believe we shall see one another no more, God's Will be King's* done. *I have made my Peace with him, and expect all that Words.* *Man can do to me with Resignation. You now see you are* involv'd in my Ruin. *I wish you better Friends than I have found. I am no Stranger to what is practis'd against me and mine; but all that troubles me not so much as the* Evils that threaten my People, through the unbounded Ambition of those who seek to raise themselves under colour of the publick Good.

Having spoke these Words, he left the Isle of *Wight*, Members to draw nearer by degrees to the Stage, on which his of *Par-* Enemies, at the beginning of the ensuing Year, de- liament sign'd turn'd out.

The History of the Revolutions in England,

sign'd to shew the World the most tragical Catastrophe that ever the Sun beheld. The last Measures for concerting it were the turning out of the Parliament all those whose Consciences they mistrusted. Notwithstanding the Army's Approach, whose General took up his Quarters at *Whitehall*, and the Presence of *Cromwell*, who went to the House of Commons to support his Party, the Parliament had declar'd the King's Answers satisfactory, and sufficient Grounds for Peace. That Resolution cost those who were suspected to be Leaders in it very dear. The Army having secur'd the Doors of both Houses, turn'd out 150 of the Members, whom they forc'd away, and committed 41 to Goal. Then *Cromwell* and his Faction once again were absolute Masters in that House, which tho' the Lower, had so entirely engros'd all the Authority, that the Upper was not at all regarded. Thus 40 Villains, most of them the very Scum of the Nation, became the supreme Governours of *England*, who made void all that the two Houses had been some Months doing towards a Peace; declar'd the King guilty of High Treason, as having occasion'd the shedding all the Blood in the late Wars; and because the House of Lords would not consent to that Vote, the Commons declar'd, That the Power of making Laws was in them alone, and there needed not any Concurrence of the Lords, the Sovereign Power being originally in the People.

Lords voted useless.

It had been expected that House should sit upon the monstrous Trial they were going to bring on; but it was their good Fortune that *Cromwell* had not quite so ill an Opinion of them, as to trust that Villainy in their Hands. Whatsoever Care he had taken to remove all those he was jealous of, still he perceiv'd some Tokens of an uneasy Conscience at the sight of such a Crime, in several of those that still remain'd. He had occasion for more resolute Hands to sacrifice a Head that wore three Crowns, to his Ambition. Being thoroughly acquainted with wicked Men, he made choice of 150, some of whom however shunn'd sitting upon that Commission, and *Fairfax* was one of the Number. *Cromwell* was not so bashful, no more than *Ireton* his Son-in-law.

High Court of Justice.

Bradshaw,

1c

This Pack was call'd, *The High Court of Justice*, erected by the Authority of the Commons, or rather by that Shaddow of them, bearing the Name of a Parliament.

ment. The Villain *Bradshaw* was appointed President, *1648.*
Doriflaus, a German Doctor his Assessor, and Cook Sol-
 licitor.

The News of this New-erected Court being spread throughout the City, soon diffus'd it self over the Nation, and into Foreign Countries. All Men gave the King for lost; and yet those that lov'd him, did not omit to make their utmost Efforts to save him. No way being left but Prayers and Remonstrances, most of the Ministers in their Sermons, and several printed Papers, declar'd what a horrid Crime it was for Subjects to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their Sovereign. The Scots sent Commissioners in great hast to protest against that Parricide. The States General order'd their Ambassador to represent that such an Action would be an indelible Reproach upon the Reformation. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindsey* and *Southampton*, offer'd their own Heads to save the King's, declaring, that they alone were guilty of the Things laid to his Charge. The Prince of *Wales* and Prince of *Orange*, sought all over *Holland* for the Kindred, Friends, and Confederates of *Cromwel*, *Ireton* and other Judges appointed to Try his Majesty, and sent them into *England*, with Commission to offer any thing to save his Life, or at least to put off the Judgment. The Queen writ to the Speaker of the Commons in such Language as might have mov'd any other, and the Letter was deliver'd by the *French* Ambassador, who was now in a worse Condition than ever to assist the King, any other way than by Solliciting, and doing good Offices; *France* at that Time labouring under a Civil War, as *England* had done.

All these Negotiations were in vain, *Cromwel*'s Genius having the Ascendant over all those he employ'd to execute his Designs. Every Man of them, with monstrous Hypocrisy, excus'd himself to those that sollicitd for the King, alledging the Orders of Providence, which, they said, they were compell'd to put in Execution, tho' never so much against their Inclinations; the Spirit of God, by which they were actuated, requiring such Submission from them. An Enthusiastick Wench, famous by the Name of, the Maid of *Hartford*, oblig'd them so far as to give out, it had been reveal'd to her, that all the Commanders of the Army had done towards
 bring-

*Hypocrisy
 of the Fa-
 ction.*

1648. bringing the King to Justice was the Will of God. The fierce Parson *Hugh Peters*, in every Book of Holy Writ found some Passage, or Example to justify the King's Death. Sometimes he was one of those wicked Kings whom the Saints, entrusted by God with the two edged Sword of Justice, meaning by them *Cromwel* and the others commission'd, were to bind in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron. Sometimes he was a *Bemadad*, a King deserving Death, whom his Judges could not spare, without losing their own Souls for him. The lewd Actor being full of these Notions, got into the Pulpit, where he emphatically urg'd them, not sparing to shed Tears upon Occasion. There was no need of his Eloquence to persuade *Cromwel's* Creatures to commit a Murder, and give it the Colour of an agreeable Sacrifice to God; for that Tyrant preach'd himself, and was so skilful at counterfeiting of Inspiration, that he did it extempore, either in Council, or in Company, or at the Head of an Army.

1649.
The King
try'd.

Pursuant to these Instructions, and the Impression made by such an Oracle, at the beginning of the Year 1649, the New Court of Justice summon'd *Charles Stuart*, King of England, so it was worded, as guilty of Tyranny, of High Treason, and of all the Murders and Violences committed in the Nation, during the War. He was brought from *Windsor* to *London*, in Order to appear at *Westminster*, where the Court sat. It is reported, that when he appear'd there, and they read his Impeachment, in the Name of the People of England, *Fairfax's* Wife, who was in a Gallery, stood up, and interrupting the Clerk who read, cry'd out, *It is a Lye, scarce the tenth Part of the People of England have any Hand in this Crime, which is brought about by the Contrivance of the Traytor Cromwel, who is there.* The Lady's Courage was equally admir'd with the Temper of the Tyrant, who without the least Notice taken of that Reproach went on with what he had in Hand.

Con-
demn'd.

The Business was vigorously push'd on. The King, in this last Action of his Life, showing such a Resolution as became his Crown, positively refus'd to own the Authority of the Court. They also refus'd to hear what he had to offer, and he was condemn'd by way of Contumacy, to have his Head cut off, as a Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murderer, and a publick Enemy to the Nation.

Ne-

Never any Prince was less deserving of those Titles than he; as never addicted to Tyranny, and no Man more averse to Blood. The Thirst of his Enemies after his, would not allow them to defer the Execution of the Sentence. However he had leisure to prepare himself to die, by the Practice of many Virtues, which would have made him a Martyr, if, as I have elsewhere observ'd, had he suffer'd what he did for maintaining the true Religion against Sects, as he did for intending to propagate one Sect by the Destruction of another. Being incapable of mentioning his Sufferings as they deserv'd, I will spare my self the Horror of writing them, and a Nation I have a Respect for, the Shame of having produc'd such Monsters as all the World detests.

All the Comfort his Majesty had, during that disconsolate interval, was the embracing two of his Children that were still at London, being the Duke of Gloucester, the Youngest of his three Sons, and the Princess Elizabeth, Elder than Henrietta, whom her Governess had carry'd over to France in her Cradle. After the usual Endearments, he strictly charg'd them to Honour the Queen their Mother, for whom he to his last Hour retain'd such a Tenderness and Affection, as he never forbore to express upon all publick Occasions. There had been a Report spread abroad, that the Rebels intended to crown the Duke of Gloucester; and therefore his Majesty made him promise, that he would never accept of the Crown, whilst his Elder Brothers liv'd. He bid him charge the Prince of Wales, if ever he were in Power, not to make use of it to revenge his Death; he order'd the Duke of York to be obedient to his Brother, as his lawful Sovereign; which that Prince still glories in having exactly perform'd, as never to be able to accuse himself of deviating.

His Majesty being sensibly touch'd by this moving Farewel, would see no Body afterwards, not even the Duke of Richmond, who had obtain'd leave, nor his own Nephew, the Elector Palatine, who being able to do no better, was come to London to solicit for him. He shut himself up at St. James's, then the Place of his Confinement; where having prepar'd for the fatal Moment, he saw it come on without dread. On the 9th of February, (the French Account, which is our 30th of January) having been conducted to Whitehall, he mounted on a Scaf-

1649.

Scaffold, purposely erected before the Gate of that Residence of the Kings of *England*, where making a short Speech, he clear'd himself from the Imputation of having occasion'd the War, and acknowledg'd that the unjust Sentence which brought him to his Death, was a Punishment for his having consented to another. All Men understood he meant the Judgment against the Earl of *Strafford*. He declared he freely forgave his Murderers; and said, the only way to secure a lasting Peace was to return to their Obedience to the Legal Power, then residing in his Successor, to give every one his Due, to God what appertain'd to him, to the People what was theirs, and to the King what was his Right. Having spoke to this Purpose, he laid down his Head, which a Mask'd Executioner struck off, in the 31st Year of his Age, and the 25th of his Reign. It is reported that *Cromwel* would needs see his Body, and having caus'd the Coffin he was carry'd in from the Scaffold to *Whitehall* to be open'd, to have taken up the Head, and look'd earnestly upon it without being disturb'd at a Spectacle which put him in mind of so many Crimes. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earls of *Dorset* and *Lindsey* having obtain'd leave to bury him, carry'd the Body to *Windsor*, and laid it near that of King *Henry* the 8th, as if Providence would have put Posterity in Mind, that King *Charles's* Misfortunes were a Punishment of the Predecessor's Crimes in the Person of his Issue.

King
Charles
the Second
and his
Brethren.

England after this Murder saw the most universal and amazing Revolution it had ever beheld. The whole Face of Things was chang'd, and scarce any Memorials remain'd of what it had been for 2000 Years. Monarchy, of such ancient standing in that Island, was torn up by the very Roots. The two next Heirs, the Prince of *Wales*, then King *Charles* the 2d, and the Duke of *Tork*, his next Brother, were Out-law'd. They were not quite so inhuman as to shed the Blood of the Duke of *Glocester*, who was then but Nine Years of Age. He was sent over into *Holland*; but the Princess *Elizabeth* found not so good Usage. It was debated whether she should not be bound Apprentice to some Trade, and at last resolv'd to send her to *Carisbroke* Castle, in the Isle of *Wight*, where the ill Air, and want of Attendance soon ended her Life. All those who had been active

in those latter Days were punish'd, and among them Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*, beheaded by Sentence of the same Court that had condemn'd the King. The Duke of *Hamilton's* Fate was extraordinary, and worth their Observation who apply History to Manners. He was a Man of Sense and Courage, born with great Designs, a generous Heart, and an aspiring Genius, but with such an Air of Subtilty as had given all Mankind an ill Notion of his Sincerity, so that tho' he dy'd for his King, it remain'd doubtful whether he had been faithful to him.

1643.
Hamilton;
Se. execu-
ted.

The House of Lords would have been too remarkable a Memorial of the Monarchy, had it been kept up, and the Parliament of *England* had still retain'd some Badges of Royalty in that Assembly. The Tyrants could not allow of that, they therefore suppress'd it, chusing two or three of those that were most entirely devoted to the Faction, and most unworthy of their Birth, with some others straitly link'd to *Cromwel*, to sit among the Commons, who from that Time were look'd upon as the only Managers of the Sovereign Power, which was declar'd to be devolv'd upon the People by the setting up of a Common-Wealth, under Colour whereof the Usurper insensibly worm'd himself into the Government of the Nation.

House of
Peers abo-
lish'd.

The End of the First B O O K.

THE HISTORY

OF THE Revolutions in England,

UNDER THE Family of the STUARTS, &c.

BOOK II.

OLIVER CROMWEL *usurps the Sovereign Authority, which descends not to his Family : His Power, and good Fortune. Soon after his Death the lawful King is restor'd.*

1649.

THE Hideousness of any other sort of Villany, but that which *Oliver Cromwel* was guilty of, might have been wip'd off by the mighty Exploits, the steady Conduct, and the perfect Prosperity of that famous Tyrant. The Lives of those who are made Heroes by Ambition are seldom free from Cruelty and Injustice. Had *Cromwel's* Life been fully only by those Crimes which are usual in Usurpers, it could not but have dazzl'd those, who are not so nice in bring

bringing Matters to be try'd by the Weights of the Sanctuary; nor is History so entirely devoted to strict Virtue, as to have deny'd such a Superior Genius a Place among Great Men, had his Crimes been of a lower Rank.

Notwithstanding all the Measures taken by Cromwel^{King} for suppressing of Kingly Government, by murdering Charles the King, still another King appear'd, who did not lay the 2d. aside his Hopes of restoring the Monarchy. Charles the 2d. had Sense, Courage, and Capacity, and made this Advantage of his Banishment, that he could in Person sollicite all the Sovereigns in Europe to assist him in a Cause, which was almost their own as well as his. Tho' they were never so much divided among themselves, an Accident of such an extraordinary Nature might have serv'd to unite them again, or at least to suspend for a while the private Quarrels of their Dominions, to take up that which concern'd their Dignity.

Besides these Reasons of Fear from abroad, Cromwel^{Posture of Affairs.} had others still stronger to be apprehensive of at home. There could be no dismembring of those three great Parts which compose the British Monarchy, without a Reflection on the new Government, and giving the King a considerable Advantage towards restoring the old, by recovering his own Right. Yet were there sufficient Grounds to question the holding of Scotland, nor was there much more to be hop'd in regard of Ireland. The Cessation of Arms so much exclaim'd against by the Parliamentarians was broken, the Catholicks had prevail'd, and the Protestant Royalists having join'd them, under the Marquis of Ormond, tho' those two Parties were not well united among themselves, yet they had made a considerable Progress against the Parliament Party. Even England was not in such a Posture as could be much rely'd on. The Nation was not universally gone astray, but that Conscience and Duty still preserv'd the King some faithful Servants. The Suppressing of the Upper House could not but provoke the Peers, who were thereby degraded, and made equal with the Commons. The several Sects and Factions that had first rais'd the Troubles, and those who found not their Advantage in the Changes that had been made, only waited an Opportunity to procure others. The Authority of the Parliament, supported by a victo-
rious

1649.



Oliver's
Arts to
make him-
self abso-
lute.

rious Army, might keep all in awe; but besides that the thing they call'd a Parliament was then only a monstrous Gang, much differing from the Majesty of an Assembly formerly compos'd of so many Great Men, it was requisite there should be a Subordination between the said Army and Parliament, for them to act in concert, and that was no easy matter to be brought about.

This was the Posture of Affairs in England, when Cromwel made himself Master, and under the Denomination of a Commonwealth erected to himself a more absolute, more Monarchical, and more Sovereign Dominion, than ever any King, even the Conqueror himself enjoy'd. In order to proceed more regularly in this Design, he began by fixing his Authority among the English. The Methods he made use of to this end were, cunningly insinuating into the Parliament and Army a Zeal for advancing his Design; uniting them to that purpose; securing the one by raising a Jealousy of the other; and making them act uniformly both as to Intention and Conduct; so as they might become formidable to whom either Duty or Interest might have set against him. Their vigorous suppressing a Mutiny happening among some of the Troops at Oxford, and the Parts adjacent, show'd that he had found the proper Expedient to stir up, and make those two Bodies act effectually, and that the Machine was fit to work the intended Effect.

Divisions
abroad se-
cure him
at home.

Having secur'd the Kingdom within, Cromwel for some time observ'd what Effect the King's Death had produc'd among Foreigners. The News of such a Villainy fill'd all Europe with Horror, and every Prince just then thought himself oblig'd to punish it. The Banishment, and Sollicitations of the Son, added to the generous Zeal conceiv'd for revenging of the Father; every one gave him fair Words, which made Cromwel apprehensive of the Consequences. But the Usurper was soon out of Fear; those Motions of Generosity, which are so sprightly in private Men, in Sovereigns soon give Way, not only to Necessity, but even to an Opportunity of aggrandizing themselves, or weakening a rival Power. The crafty Villain soon perceiv'd, that the two only Monarchies which he had any Cause to fear, were neither dispos'd to unite against him, nor in a Condition to do him any Harm singly. The King of

France

France was in his Minority, and *Spain* was for making its Advantage of it. Those two Crowns being in that Posture, *Cromwel* plainly saw that e'er long he should be courted by both of them; so that instead of having cause to fear either *French* or *Spaniards*, he should one Day be Umpire between them, and have his Choice which he thought fit to pitch upon for his Friend.

1649.

Being thus at once secur'd against Faction at home, *He re-* and War abroad, *Cromwel* bent his Thoughts against *Solves to* Enemies, that were neither altogether Foreigners, nor *go into* properly Natives; I mean the *Scots*, who were waver- *Ireland.* ing in their Union with *England*; and the *Irish*, most of whom had already shaken off the Yoke. Whilst the former were narrowly observ'd, and all their Actions pry'd into without doing any thing to provoke them, *Cromwel* hastened to subdue the latter, and resolv'd to manage that War in Person.

The Parliament Party had scarce any thing left them *Siege of* in *Ireland*, but *Dublin* and *Londonderry*, and the Mar- *Dublin* quis of *Ormond* was then actually besieging the Capital. *rais'd.* *Oliver's* Fortune may be said to have been in *Ireland* before him. Before he left *England*, *Dublin* had been reliev'd by the Parliament Forces sent over under *Reynolds* and *Venables*. *Jones*, the Governour of the City, having receiv'd that Relief at a Time when the Besiegers were busy fortifying an advanc'd Post, made such a furious Sally upon them, that they were seiz'd with a pannick Fear; so that their General was oblig'd to raise the Siege, after a Rout, wherein he lost 4000 Men kill'd on the Spot, and 2500 taken.

The News of the Success being brought to *Cromwel*, *Cromwel* he to make his Advantage of it, hastened the imbarking of *in Ireland.* his Army, which was not numerous, but consisted of veteran and well-disciplin'd Troops. He sail'd from *Milford* in *August*, directly for *Dublin*, where of 15000 Men he gave 5000 to *Venables*, for *Londonderry*, and kept 10000, with which he march'd to besiege *Drogheda*.

Drogheda was an important Place, into which the Lord *Takes Dro-* Lieutenant had thrown the best Men he had left. *Sir Arthur* *gheda.* *Aston* was Governour, and thought himself well enough provided with all Necessaries to hold out a long Siege, to ruin the Enemies Army, expecting the General would gain it foot by foot, and prepar'd to dispute every Inch with him. *Aston* judg'd right; but the Misfortune was, that *Crom-*

1649

Cromwel thought as he did, and being sensible, that if he attack'd *Drogheda* in form, the Length of the Siege would consume many of his Men, and Sickness might disable those that were not cut off by the Sword, he resolv'd to Storm the Place. As soon as the Cannon had play'd, perceiving some small Breaches in the Wall, he order'd the Assault to be given. They were twice repuls'd, but the General himself and *Ireton* leading the Troops then almost dismay'd, put such fresh Courage into them, that neither the Garrison nor the Ramparts could stop them. All gave way to that fresh Effort. Four Thousand were put to the Sword in three Days the Soldiers had to Plunder, and satisfy their Avarice and Cruelty. The Churches were no Sanctuary for the Conquer'd, who were butcher'd upon the very Altars. Some being got up to the Tops of them, were made to come down, and only one of them spar'd, who having cast himself down receiv'd no other Hurt but breaking one of his Legs, for the Rarity of which Accident he was spar'd.

Other Places
surrender.

The Destruction of *Drogheda* render'd *Cromwel's* Name formidable to all other Places round about. Few of them had so much Resolution as to expect a Summons to Surrender; so that he was soon Master of all Places along the Eastern Coast of Ireland, from *Dublin* to *Dundalk*. The Garrison of this last abandon'd it, before the Enemy appear'd; and having taken away some Pieces of heavy Cannon, left them by the way to fly the lighter.

Wexford
taken by
Storm.

Cromwel did not at that Time carry on his Conquests any farther Northward, but return'd to *Dublin*, and march'd to *Wexford*, that Part lying convenient for subsisting of his Army in the Southern Counties. He immediately summon'd the Governor; who, expecting Relief, was so cunning as to amuse him; till *Cromwel* perceiving it, caus'd him to be so briskly attack'd, that the Garrison dismay'd, and abandoning the Walls, left him a free Passage into the City. They rally'd and fought bravely in the Market Place, but in vain, all the Fruit of their Resistance being only the Honour of not falling without Opposition. *Wexford* was treated like *Drogheda*, and that Severity had the same Effect there; the Terror spreading into all the Towns and Forts along the Coast, as far as *Dublin*, spar'd the General the Trouble of Summoning them.

The

1649.

Crom-
wel's good
Fortune.

The Winter began now to grow sharp, and the Sea-
son rainy; *Oliver's* Troops suffer'd very much, and the
Flux, raging weakned them. Many thought these
Reasons should have oblig'd that General to put a Stop to
his Conquests, for fear of losing them as fast as they
were gain'd; but he was of another Opinion, and more
in the Right than they. The Difficulties the Marquis
of *Ormond* met with towards bringing another Army
into the Field, after his Defeat at *Dublin*; the ancient
Disagreement again breaking out between the Catho-
licks and him, on account of the late Disgrace; the Se-
cret Intelligence held by *Cromwel* in the Province of
Munster, which was to be deliver'd up to him, in case
he could but come near enough to countenance the Treas-
on; and the mighty Affairs that call'd him back
over the Sea, seem'd to him more powerful Motives for
continuing the War, than the Winter was to interrupt
his Progress. Being thus resolv'd, he attack'd *Ross*, and
took it, through the Fault of Count *Taff*, who held out
but 8 Days with a Garrison of 2000 Men. *Cromwel* laid
a Bridge over the *Barrow*, and pass'd over his Army to
draw near to *Munster*, subduing the Country as he
went. It was well for him that the Intelligence he held
in that Province prov'd more true to him, than it had
done to the King. He had suffer'd himself to be led a-
way by the Course of his Successes, and abus'd his good
Fortune. The ill Success he met with at the Sieges of
Duncannon and *Waterford* brought him to himself, and
to think of taking Winter Quarters. It was then too
late had not Treachery reliev'd him. December was
come on, and he had scarce 4000 Men fit for Service,
whereas the Marquis of *Ormond* lay in the way to *Dub-*
lin with 8000. *Cromwel* had no other Place to winter
in; all the Places he had taken being too much expos'd
to the Excursions of the other Party's Garrisons, to be
well supply'd with Provisions, and have leisure enough to
recover after so many Fatigues. At this Time almost all
Munster declar'd for him. *Toughal*, *Kingsale*, *Cork*, and
other Posts were deliver'd up to him at once, and fur-
nish'd him with Means to refresh his Soldiers, during
the three hardest Months of the Winter, which they
spent there in great Peace. The Earl of *Inchiqueen*, a
Royalist, made some Attempts to recover *Wexford*,
but in vain, for *Nelson* prevented him. He would have
fallen

Munster
revolts to
him.

1649.

fallen upon *Arklow*, but *Hudson* stopp'd and oblig'd him to retire.

1650.
His far-
ther Pro-
gress.

It was not *Cromwel's* Temper to lie long idle, when he had much to do. The Month of *February*, in the Year 1650, was not quite over, before he took the Field again. Some Troops were come over to him, which his active Nature, together with the News that press'd him to return into *England*, suffer'd not to take much Rest. Some say the Parliament then made Instances to him to return into *England*, and that he excus'd himself; however it was he went on to reduce *Ireland*, and was Successful. He at first divided his Army to distress the Marquis of *Ormond*, who had not Forces enough to part them. He left Baron *Broghil*, with a flying Camp in *Munster*, *Ingoldsby* about *Limerick*, and whilst *Coot* and *Venables* acted in the North, came himself with Part of his Forces before *Calan*, where he was joyn'd by the rest under *Ireton* and *Reynolds*, who had taken another way. *Calan* held out but one Day, and pay'd dear for that short Resistance, all Persons there being put to the Sword, except *Butler's* Troops, which surrendred before the Cannon was fir'd. All Places round about voluntarily submitted. The General was for taking *Gowran*, and thence falling upon *Kilkenny*, a Place of Consequence, and then made the Capital to the King's Party. To this purpose, he sent Orders to *Hudson*, the New Governour of *Dublin*, to bring him all the Forces he could draw out of the Garrisons of *Wexford*, and the other Posts he had taken on that Side. *Hudson* joyn'd him near *Gowran*, after taking by the Way *Kildare*, *Balifon*, and *Letrim*. The Army was then 22000 strong, which the Marquis of *Ormond* not daring to oppose, as not having half that Number, *Gowran* was soon reduc'd, and *Kilkenny* held out no longer than was requisite to obtain Honourable Terms. The Articles were, That the Town should be deliver'd, with what Arms and Ammunition were in it; That the Inhabitants should pay 2000 Pounds to *Cromwel*; on which account every Man should have liberty to stay, or go, as he thought fit; And the Garrison to march out with their Arms and Baggage, and be conducted to *Athlone*.

Takes Kil-
kenny.

Beseiges
and takes
Clonmel.

Cromwel marching on Southward from *Kilkenny*, laid Siege to *Clonmel*. There was a Garrison in the Place of near 2000 Men, commanded by an *Irishman* of a good Re-

Re-

Reputation; the Post was fortify'd, and the Lord Lieutenant seem'd resolv'd to relieve it. *Cromwel* march'd thither, and having detach'd *Reynolds* with a flying Army to observe the Marquis, boldly laid Siege to it. The greatest Danger of that Enterprize was not from the Marquis of *Ormond*, whom *Reynolds* strictly observing, broke all his Measures. The Bishop of *Ross* was more to be fear'd, who having on a sudden gather'd 4 or 5000 Men was advancing to relieve *Clonmel*. It fell out fortunately for the Besiegers, that *Broughill* hap'n'd to be strong enough to fight that Martial Prelate. He routed, and hang'd him, which so daunted the Governor of *Caringdred*, that he surrender'd his Post to the Victor. The Cruelty *Cromwel* us'd towards those who made much Opposition, caus'd *Clonmel* to surrender sooner than it ought in Reason to have done. After a Defence of some Days, carry'd on with Valour and Success enough, no Relief appearing, the Garrison stole out by Night, and every one shifting for himself, the Inhabitants found themselves left to the Mercy of their Enemies. The Townsmen however were not at a Loss, but tho' forsaken by their Defenders, capitulated themselves, without taking Notice of the Occasion that mov'd them so to do, and obtain'd such Conditions, as sav'd their Lives and Goods. *Cromwel* caus'd the Garrison to be pursu'd, and some that were overtaken fell sacrifices for the rest; but he did the Inhabitants no Wrong, suffering them to enjoy the Fruit of their Ingenuity upon the Faith of the Treaty.

Whilst *Cromwel* made these Conquests in one Part of *Ulster* *Ireland*, *Coot* and *Venables* did the like in another, and reduc'd by *Coot* and *Venables* all the *North* under his Obedience. *Armagh*, *Coot* and *Charlottesville* submitted to the Parliament, and there was scarce any Town, or Strong Hold in all the great Province of *Ulster* that durst hold out. *Cromwel* was preparing to take *Waterford* and *Duncannon*, which he had mis'd of before, and had reason to believe, that before the Campaign were ended, *Athlone*, *Limerick*, and *Galway*, the only Places of Note still left on the honest Side, would follow the Fate of the rest, and make him Master of all the Island. He had block'd up *Waterford*, when about the Beginning of *May*, a *Cromwel* new Order, or rather a Request of the Parliament, oblig'd him to leave the finishing of his Conquest to *Ireton*, *England*. and

1640.

The Scots
repent sel-
ling the
King.

and go over himself into *England*, where he now thought his Presence was necessary.

The Scots had not been so guilty of the Murder of King *Charles* the First, out of the natural Temper of the Nation, which is well enough affected to their Sovereigns; as through Infection receiv'd from the *English*; whom a vain Conceit of Liberty, more fatal to their Peace than the worst of Slavery, has in all Ages arm'd against their Kings. The Violence of the latter had drawn away the former, and caus'd them to consent to such Proceedings as they did not foresee the Consequences of. It is true the Scots had deliver'd up the King to the *English* Rebels; but it is likely they had not so ill an Opinion of them as to think they would proceed so far in Villany. Their Negotiations with the Parliament of *England*, to save that Prince's Life, when they perceiv'd it was in danger; the Forces they rais'd, the Endeavours they us'd to succour him, show'd even then that they repented having contributed towards his Destruction. *Cromwell's* Activity had disappointed them, and prevented all Methods of attempting any thing for some time. The Business he had in hand afterwards afforded them Leisure to take new Measures. Since they had not been able to save the King, they were at least for securing to his Son that one of his Crowns, which they thought was at their Disposal. Some private Cabals were of another Opinion, being either engag'd with *Argyle*, or Embassies to *Cromwell*. The Body of the Nation was for those Methods which were dictated by Justice, and the publick Interest of the State, which could scarce fail of falling under the *English* Yoke, unless *Scotland*, by embracing the King's Party, divided *England*, and gain'd over to its Side those who still were well affected to Monarchy.

They disagree about calling in the King.

This Business was long Negotiating, and bringing to a Conclusion. All those that were for the King did not agree about the Manner of his coming. Some would have him as his Predecessors had been, with the same Authority and Prerogative, alledging it would be dishonourable to take Advantages of their Prince's Misfortunes; that they ought to adhere to the ancient Laws and Customs of the Monarchy; and that since they thought fit to keep up Monarchy, they ought not to lessen it. The *Highlanders*, most of them Catholics,

headed

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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1650.

headed by the *Gordons*, and all *Montrose's* Party, which was still in Being tho' he were absent, stood up for this Opinion. Others were of another Mind, and would have a King, but without any Power, or scarce any Prerogative but Precedence; a Head without any Sovereignty, or any other Business, but the approving of all the People's Humours, and complying with the Will of all Cabals, that should be prevalent enough to pass it into a Law. They alledg'd, they ought to lay hold of that Opportunity for moderating the Monarchical Power, and securing their Religion and Laws against the Inconstancy and Tyranny of Princes; for should they let it slip, it would be afterwards too late to repent, that they had not done that when it was a proper Time, which there would never be another Time to do; that the King was to be restor'd, but upon such Terms, as might be advantageous to the People, and for the future secure their Estates, their Religion, and their Liberties against any Attempts and Incroachments of their Sovereigns. This was the Opinion of the Presbyterian Sect, always steady, and uniform in its Maxims, as well in *Scotland* as in *England*, and the same towards *Charles the Second* that it had been to the first. That Sect being the ruling Party, the most numerous, and chiefly embrac'd by the People of Quality, their Opinion prevail'd above the others. It was resolv'd, they should invite the King to reassume the Throne of his Ancestors; but that at the same Time they should be certain Conditions laid before him to subscribe, without which they were resolv'd he should not return.

King *Charles* was in the *Isle of Jersey*, which had remain'd faithful to him, when Baron *Liberton* came to him from the Nation, with the News that he had been proclaim'd King; but that they could not consent to his exercising of the Regal Power, unless under such Terms as were contain'd in a Letter he deliver'd.

Their Majesty to the King.

The Letter began with many Compliments of Condolance upon the unfortunate End of the late King; a Detestation of that Murder; Protestations of Obedience, and Assurances of Loyalty. The Conclusion was in another Strein. Upon their Submission to the King, they requir'd of him, among other Things, That he should take the *Scots* Covenant; That he should remove from about his Person all those who had taken up Arms for

Contents of it.

1650.



for his Father; that he should not recal *Montrose*; that he should entertain no Catholick in his Court, and in short, that he should appoint a Place, where the Deputies of the Nation, being sufficiently empower'd, might conclude a Treaty with him, the Copy whereof they there sent him.

The King's
Answer.

King *Charles* had too much Sense to carry himself haughtily out of Season. Such was the Posture of his Affairs, that he thought himself oblig'd to the *Scots* for the Justice they shew'd in recalling him to a Throne that was his due, and immediately sent *Flemming* to return them his Thanks. Soon after, without mentioning the Difficulties those Conditions reduc'd him to, he sent *Liberton* home, bidding him assure the States of *Scotland*, that he would do all that lay in him to answer their Affection, appointing *Breda* for the Place to meet those Deputies they were to send to finish that Work.

Opinions of
his Council.

Whilst these Preliminaries to so important and nice a Treaty were in hand, the King advis'd in Council, whether he should accept of the Offer made by the *Scots* upon the Terms propos'd. He writ to the Queen his Mother, and such other of his Friends as were not about him, to ask their Opinions, wherein they vary'd. Many were utterly against his trusting the *Scots*, alledging, that their Submission was counterfeit, and a specious Colour for carrying on of some Treason; that the Example of the late King ought to teach the Son how little Confidence was to be repos'd on a perfidious Nation, which after obliging his Father to remove his most faithful Servants, as they would have him do by his, had deliver'd him up to his Enemies; that the Parliament of *Scotland* offer'd his Majesty nothing but the superficial part of Royalty, and reserv'd to it self the Substance; that his Majesty ought to take care not to lay a Burden on himself, which he would not be able to shake off at pleasure; that it was much better to stick to those Measures he had concerted with *Montrose*, for subduing of rebellious *Scotland*, and enter it as a warlike King, at the Head of an Army that might make him formidable, than like a mock King, with the Applause of a People, who despis'd when they commended him. These were the Sentiments of many. On the other hand, the Queen, and the greater Number with her, maintain'd, that he ought to go into *Scotland* upon any Terms; that,



as Affairs then stood, nothing could be done without some Hazard; that *France* being then sensible of the Effects of its King's Minority, there was no Hope of any considerable foreign Assistance, and therefore the King ought not to refuse the Offer made him by his Subjects, how hard soever the Conditions might seem, there being some likelihood that they would in time abate of them, his Condescension towards them requiring a Return on their side towards him; that out of nothing came nothing, but one Kingdom might recover another; that it was no new thing for a King of *Scotland* well attended and seconded, to obtain Victories over the *English*, and that according to the present Circumstances, one alone would suffice to alter the Posture of Affairs; that one part of *England* only waited such an Opportunity to declare and join the King, and assist him to subdue the other; and that many had still Sense enough of their Duty to venture something for their Prince, if they saw but the least Probability of withstanding the Power of the Usurpers.

These Reasons prevail'd with the King, who was the more hasty in concluding with the *Scots*, in regard he was inform'd they were making Preparations at *London* to besiege him in *Ferfey*. As soon as resolv'd, he sail'd into *Flanders*, and repair'd to *Breda*, where the *Scots* Deputies came to meet him, with additional Proposals, which were not the same he had before, *Murray* soon after bringing others quite different. The King, tho' never so much offended at that foul Proceeding, follow'd the Method propos'd, and having resolv'd to go over into *Scotland*, notwithstanding his Admittance was to cost him dear, he gave the Deputies a favourable Reception, and only us'd fair Means to incline them to abate in some Points that press'd heaviest upon him.

This Moderation making the Treaty calm and easy, notwithstanding the little Compliance he found in the *Scots*; it was daily expected to see the Conclusion of it, when an unexpected Accident had like to have broke it off. The King had actually recall'd *Montrose* out of *Hungary*, and given him a Commission to raise Forces for him in *Scotland*, and carry as many thither from other Parts, as he could draw together. And after *Liberton* had demanded of him in the Name of the Parliament of *Scotland*, that he should not send over that Lord;

The King treats with the Scots at Breda.

Underhand deals with Montrose.



The History of the Revolutions in England,

Lord; being as yet no way engag'd upon that Business, he gave *Montrose* notice of the Treaty, there was on foot, and of the Article which concern'd himself, ordering him to proceed as if he knew nothing of it, and to get into *Scotland* as soon as possible with such Forces as might render the *Scots* somewhat more tractable, with this Foresight, that he might make the recalling of him a meritorious Act towards them, if he were compell'd to it.

Montrose
in Scot-
land.

Montrose had obey'd punctually. Tho' he had no Army ready as yet, he had taken some few Troops hastily rais'd in the Northern Parts, and hoping they would soon increase upon his appearing in *Scotland*, he first landed them in the *Orcades*, and thence carry'd them over to *Caithness*. The Parliament had notice of it, and having order'd *Lesley* to march that way with 3000 Men, *Montrose* was so unfortunate, that a Party of 300 Horse, detach'd from that Army under the Command of *Straughan*, had accidentally met him, and cut in pieces the undisciplin'd raw Men he was leading. He escap'd himself, and being disguis'd, was out of danger of being taken; but Hunger obliging him to repair to the Laird of *Alston*, who had formerly serv'd under him, he was betray'd, deliver'd up to *Lesley*, and the Parliament, who condemn'd and executed him, setting up his Quarters on the Gates of the four principal Cities in *Scotland*. Such an unworthy End had *John Graham*, so zealous for his King, to the very last, that after hearing the Judgment, which condemn'd him to be quarter'd, and his Limbs expos'd in several Places, he said to the Chancellor, who pronounc'd it, *He only wish'd he had Flesh enough, that some Part might be set up in every Town in the World, as a Monument of the Duty a Subject owes to his Sovereign.*

Insistence
of the
Scots.

It was not question'd but that Accident would have broke off the Treaty between the King and the *Scots*. In short, nothing but the Necessity the King was reduc'd to, could have made him put up such an Affront so calmly as he did. But that Prince's Affairs were in such a Condition, as not to permit his resenting the Injuries that were offer'd him; being reduc'd to wish, the *Scots* might as easily forgive him for having sent *Montrose* into *Scotland*, as he did their putting of him to Death. His Majesty's Fears on that account were not ground-

Upon the first Sally of his Concern, he had complain'd to the Deputies of their foul Usage to *Montrose*, and demanded Satisfaction. He had also writ into *Scotland* about it; where the Parliament meeting, there had been 32 Votes for breaking off the Treaty. However the better Cause prevail'd once more by Plurality of Voices. *Murray* had Orders to assure his Majesty, that the *Scots* persisted in their Resolution of receiving him; that he should find them very submissive, and if any thing made him uneasy in that Introduction to a Reconciliation, Time would soften it by degrees; that the Business of *Montrose* could not fail of a good Effect towards restoring of his Affairs, which all the Nation was desirous of; that tho' they had found Letters in that General's Cabinet, which might have given them other Thoughts, they were willing to take no notice of them, desiring him on the other hand to think of nothing but hastning his Departure, and coming over to reign over Subjects, who were ready to sacrifice all they had to revenge him on his Enemies.

The mutual Relentment occasion'd by the Business of *King Montrose*, between the King and the *Scots*, being thus calm'd by Degrees, the Treaty was again set on Foot; and the Prince of *Orange* having taken Pains to prevail on them to yield a little in some Points, which seem'd to affect His Majesty's Honour, it was at last concluded. *King Charles* embark'd, and arriv'd in *Scotland* in June.

The Time spent in concerting such a nice Affair, gave the Parliament of *England* Leisure to advertize *Cromwel*, and upon that Advice he thought fit to trust another with completing the Reduction of *Ireland*, that he might himself attend that of *Scotland*. The base Behaviour of the *Scots* gave him Leisure enough, and all the King's Application could not prevent the ill Consequences he apprehended from their manner of Proceeding. *Scotland* never seem'd to be so near Destruction through the ill Posture of its Affairs, and the vile Dispositions of the People. The Divisions occasion'd by the Civil War continu'd, Factions multiply'd, and grew daily hotter. The *Presbyterian*, which still prevail'd, behav'd it self so towards the rest, as more and more provok'd them; and the King's Presence was so far from producing any Moderation, that the *Presbyterians* grew the more insupportable;

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supportable, for the *Highlanders* and *Montrosians* having no Means left to exert their Respect for his Majesty but in Complaints, there was no Regard had for them. Nay they would not so much as admit them into the Army, under Colour that the Scripture forbids conversing with such as they call'd Malignants, and that odious Name was given to all that were not Puritans.

Their insulting the King.

The worst was, that the King had no better Usage than the rest, and the Tyranny he lay under from that Party in *Scotland*, was beyond what he had apprehended in *Flanders*. He had thought himself well us'd, had they exacted no more of him than what he had thought most unreasonable to promise. No sooner was he landed, but that amidst his solemn Receptions in all Places, amidst the publick Rejoycings and Aeclamations of the People, he easily perceiv'd how little Respect those in Power had for him. Bad Weather having oblig'd him to land *Northward*, he was receiv'd at *Aberdeen* with extraordinary Tokens of sincere Joy; a Present in Money, made him by the Inhabitants, sufficiently testify'd it. This Testimony of the Peoples Affection gave him real Satisfaction; but that Pleasure was soon allay'd by a Disgust given him on that very account by those who had the Disposal of him in their Hands. The moment they were inform'd, that the People of *Aberdeen* had made the King a Present of Money, without acquainting them, they publish'd an Order, importing, that such as were willing to make his Majesty any Present of Money, should put it into no other Hands than of the publick Officers. Going on to *Dundee*, he was entertain'd with all possible Magnificence; but the Faction had the Impudence, by the way, to shew him that Quarter of *Montrose*, which the Parliament had sent thither.

His base Usage at Edinborough.

His Condition was no better at the Capital, than elsewhere. He was proclaim'd there, and receiv'd the Honours due to his Dignity; but he had been no where less free, less regarded, less consulted with about publick Affairs, and admitted into the Council. Guards were immediately assign'd him, not so much to do him Honour, as to observe, and permit none but the Faction to come near him. They would have him remove the few *English* they had consented before should be about him; and he had much ado to retain the Duke of *Bucc*

kingham

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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kingham, and a few others. He was continually beset by Presbyterian Ministers, who indiscreetly abusing the Liberty he was forc'd to allow them, were perpetually tormenting him with most extravagant Discourses, to set him not only against the Catholick Religion, but even against the Church of *England*, in which he had been brought up. His Majesty being but little addicted to Devotion, they every moment told him, his Tepidity proceeded from having been educated in a Sect that had Ceremonies and Bishops, the profane Remains of *Roman* Superstition, as they call'd them, wherewith the Church of *England* had defil'd the Sanctity of the Reformation. They would have him do Penance, and look on himself as unworthy to reign, till such time as he was become perfectly submissive to the Word of God, that he might be a King according to his Heart. They drove this Point so far, as to require he should not only do Penance for his own Sins, but for those of others, and particularly the King his Father's, and for what those Hereticks call'd the Idolatries of his Mother. His Majesty, for fear of provoking them, was oblig'd to sit on a low stool in the midst of their Meetings, which they call the Stool of Repentance.

*Impudent
Parsons*

His Majesty took these Discourses and Behaviour of theirs the more to heart, in regard that whilst they talk'd to him of Matters he little valu'd, the governing Party said nothing to him of what nearest concern'd him, and would not allow him so much as to meddle in martial Affairs. Thus the King found himself in the Power of a People fix'd in extravagant Principles, and full of mistaken Ambition, which prevail'd on them to exclude from their Army so many brave and zealous Men for the Honour of their Nation, and him from the Command of those Forces that were to maintain his Quarrel, when they were near being attack'd by all the Power of *England*.

For during this Confusion among the People, and in the Affairs of *Scotland*, Cromwel, who had notice of all, well prepar'd to make his Advantage of it. He was return'd to *London*, and had been receiv'd with great Applause. London. As he did not refuse the Honours the People of that *Capital* offer'd him upon that Occasion, so he shew'd he had sense enough not to make much account of them. It is reported, that as he was passing by *Tyburn*, the common Place

ception in

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 Place for executing of Malefactors, a Flatterer pointing to the Crouds of People that came to meet him, and saying, *See what a Multitude of People comes to attend your Triumph;* he answer'd very unconcern'd, *More would come to see me hang'd.* He was not so indifferent as to the Honour of being look'd upon by his Fellow Usurpers, as the only Man in *England* on whom they could depend for the Success of the greatest Affairs, because that publick Esteem secur'd his Sovereignty. He had a fresh Instance of it in the Parliament's way of committing the Business of *Scotland* to him, obliging *Fairfax* to resign up the entire Command of the Army to him. This was done in a decent manner. *Fairfax*

Fairfax
laid aside,
Cromwel
General.

excus'd himself for going into *Scotland*, alledging he wanted to repose himself, and that it was not proper for him, who had Lands in that Kingdom, and a Place in the Parliament there, to make War against it. Thus the whole Charge of that important Expedition was laid on *Cromwel*. His Army had been commanded to march before, whilst he gave the necessary Orders for transporting Provisions to subsist it by Sea; as well foreseeing that the *Scots* would lay all waste, and there would neither be Man's Meat nor Forage for Horses found on their Borders. Having made these Preparations, he set out Post, and arriv'd at *Berwick* on the 22^d of July, where he staid some Days, and spent them, first in publishing an Answer, in the Name of the Parliament of *England*, to a Complaint the *Scots* had made at *London*, on account of the Preparations there to go invade their Country. It is needless to set down the Contents of that Paper, they may be easily guess'd at. *Cromwel* added an Invitation to the *Scots* on the Frontiers, to return to their Houses they had abandon'd; assuring them, that both their Persons and their Goods should be secur'd against the Insults and Avarice of the Soldiers. Whilst these Papers were spread abroad, the General drew together his Forces. *Monk* and *Lambert*, Men famous in this History, serv'd under him as Lieutenant Generals.

Marches
to Ber-
wick.

Enters
Scotland.

The *English* Army enter'd *Scotland* about the Beginning of *August*, consisting of 17000 Men, and took *Muscleborough* and *Dunbar*, without much Opposition. The Divisions among the *Scots* had put *Cromwel* in hopes that he should make a great Progress in a short time, and

and find no Army fit to withstand him. But he was deceiv'd; the common Danger on a sudden allay'd all private Animosities. The Presbyterian Party took the Field, and was permitted to proceed. Their Army consisted of 20000 Men, under the Command of old *Lesley*, his Nephew being Lieutenant, and *Holborn* and *Montgomery* Major Generals.

Cromwel, whose Interest it was to endeavour to come *Lesley* soon to a Battel, in a Country where his Army found nothing to subsist on, march'd directly towards the Enemy, who lay encamp'd between *Edinbrough* and *Leith*, to cover those two Places, and the Heart of the Country. The cunning *English*-man try'd all Ways to draw *Lesley* to fight; but he understood his Trade, and it being his Interest to protract time, so to ruin the Enemies Army, which had neither Ammunition nor Provisions, but what came from *England* at a great Charge, and with much difficulty, he kept himself so strongly intrench'd, that *Cromwel* durst not attack him. The *English* General us'd all the Baits and Stratagems known in War to oblige the *Scot* to fight him; sometimes drawing him towards *Dunbar*, as if he would have besieg'd *Edinbrough*, and again moving to get between *Sterling* and him. But the *Scot* dexterously avoided all these Snares, and tho' the *English* Army kept up close with him, so order'd his Motions, and posted himself so advantageously, that the whole Month of *August* was spent in those Countermarches, so tedious to a Man of *Cromwel*'s Spirit, who could never meet with an Opportunity either to fight in open Field, or attack his Enemy in his Camp.

Had the *Scots* held on that Conduct, it is likely *Cromwel* had fail'd in his Enterprize: But a mistaken Point of Honour drew that hot Nation into the Misfortune it fell into by the Battel of *Dunbar*. They were provok'd at the Insults of the *English*; they apprehended lest their Policy should be look'd upon as Cowardize; they believ'd they might beat those in a set Battel, whom they had sometimes advantageously repuls'd upon decamping, and therefore they resolv'd to fight, and acquainted *Cromwel* with it.

That General being inform'd about the Beginning of *September*, that the *Scots* design'd to surprize *Muscle-borough*, and cut off his Convoy which came from *Dunbar*.

1650. he march'd that way, and into the latter of those Towns, where having refresh'd them, he again march'd them out, to fight the Enemy, who had posted themselves near by. They also drew up, but with Precipitation, as not expecting the *English* so soon; and perhaps that Surprize was the Occasion of their Army's being at the very first put into such Disorder, as it could never recover. *Cromwel* gain'd a compleat Victory. Three Thousand *Scots* were slain on the spot. *Leith*, *Edinburgh*, and all Places seated on the Southern Coast and the River *Forth*, as far as *Sterling*, submitted to the Conqueror; only that last Strong Hold, and the Castle of the Capital, durst hold out in those Parts.

*Extrava-
gances of
the Pres-
byterians.*

The Trouble the King conceiv'd at so unfortunate an Accident, was alleviated by the Hopes he conceiv'd that it would prove advantageous to his Party. The *Puritans* were come to the highest Pitch of Extravagancy both towards himself and those they call'd Malignants. In one of those Actions which hapned in *August* upon the Armies decamping, one of the *Scots* Parties being drove far enough, his Majesty, who hapned to be near that Place and told of it, hastned thither, and by his Presence and Example had rally'd those that fled, and restor'd good Order. The King thought he had deserv'd some Thanks for that good Service, and expected that such a Proof of his Valour and Conduct would have prevail'd with them to give him that Post in the Army which was his due; but instead of it the Presbyterian Ministers and General Officers press'd him more earnestly than ever to withdraw, and not appear any more in the Army. He told them that it was not for his Honour to lie idle, whilst they were fighting for him; that a King in his Condition, who had no Means left to prevail against his hard Fortune, but by being successful in War, ought to look upon it as his main Business, and not so entirely leave it to another's Care, as to do nothing himself. The King, notwithstanding all he could alledge, was oblig'd to withdraw, the Officers threatening to forsake him, if he staid. Nor was that all, they enquir'd very narrowly, who had given the King notice of the Danger the Army was in, and disbanded near 3000 Men they thought were not entirely of their Faction, looking on them as Malignants, with whom the Saints were to have no Intercourse.

The

The King was in hopes that the Defeat at *Dunbar* would open the Eyes of the Ministers, and the Governing Part of the Puritans, that they might be sensible of their ill Conduct, use him better, and re-unite all Parts of the Nation under their Natural and Lawful Sovereign. In short, it was for a Time believ'd there might be some such Disposition in the *Scots*; but those Hopes soon vanish'd. No sooner had the routed *Scots* recover'd from their Fright, but they again fell into their Obstinacy; the King was worse us'd than ever, the other Parties were contemn'd, and the Divisions became more universal. The Highland Lords so much resented it, that they invited King *Charles* to come among them. His Majesty, whose Patience was quite worn out, consented, and made his Escape on pretence of Hunting; taking only three Persons along with him, and repairing to the Vicecount *Dupes*, lay conceal'd there some Time, till some trusty Persons sent into the *North* could bring him an Account of the good Inclinations, and Strength of those who had call'd him. His Escape put all those into a Consternation, in whom Puritanism had not extinguish'd all Love of their Country, and apprehension of falling under the *English* Yoke. They met and consulted, and an *Englishman* opportunely discover'd where the King lay; some mutinous Persons were for letting him go; but the wiser Sort prevail'd, concluding, that he ought to be recall'd for the same Reasons that first induc'd them to send for him. They sent *Montgomery* to conjure him to return, and promise they would alter that Method of Proceeding which had disgusted him; so as never more to give him any more Cause to complain.

Montgomery readily and successfully perform'd what he was sent about; getting to *Dupes* before the King was gone. He there cast himself at his Feet, representing, that his Retreat ruin'd his own Affairs by ruining the Nations; that by withdrawing from the Parliament, instead of uniting the Parties, he made himself Head of the Weakest, which abusing the Honour of being commanded by their Sovereign, would take fresh Boldness, and raise a Civil War, at a Time when they had enough to do to repulse a Forreign; that he would be himself the greatest Loser; that it concern'd no less than the securing of his natural Inheritance, and the last Resource

1650.
More of
their Brutality.

The King
withdrews
from them.

They couns
him to re-
turn to
their Army.

1650.

He complies.

Traiterous Remonstrants.

he had; that they were sensible he had Cause to be dissatisfy'd, and begg'd his Pardon; that if he would return, he should meet with such different Entertainment, as should blot out the Memory of that he complain'd of. The King was loath to comply, since it might be look'd upon as the Effect of a Lightness misbecoming his Character; but it concern'd him so much not to separate himself from the Bulk of the Nation, and he rely'd so much on *Montgomery's* Promise, made in the Name of the Parliament, of an entire Submission, that he resolv'd to return.

He was receiv'd with much Joy, and perceiv'd they did intend to alter their Behaviour towards him. However this Change was not at first so universal; but that a new Faction started up, calling themselves *Remonstrants*, which gave him much Trouble, and endanger'd his whole Party. One Colonel *Straughan*, who commanded 4000 Horse, with one *Ker*, was the Chief of that Party. The King using all his Endeavours to re-unite the Nation, and cut off all Distinction between Puritan and Malignant, in order to joyn the Forces of both against the Common Enemy; had already projected some Agreement between the Puritans and the Highlanders. The latter had been admitted into the Service, and some *English* with them, under certain Conditions, which they had accepted of. *Cromwel*, who let slip no Advantage, made use of this Opportunity to upbraid the Puritans with having departed from their Principles, and joyning with God's Enemies, under a King that was of no Religion; and entertain'd even Catholics in his Service. These Charges dexterously handled in Libels the *English* General caus'd to be spread abroad, had the Effect above mention'd. Some Fanatick Parsons, dissaffected to the King, presently came into those Notions, and inspir'd them into others. Several Persons were of that Mind, as was almost all the Body commanded by *Ker* and *Straughan*. These in a Paper they call'd a Remonstrance complain'd, that the Misfortune of the Defeat at *Dunbar*, and the Loss of *Edinbrough*, had been occasion'd, by the Faithfuls rashly entering into Society with the King, and his Malignants, before they had given any Proofs of a Sound Conversion. The Parliament was at a Stand how to suppress that Mutiny, and had *Ker* been of his Comrade's Humour, that Spark

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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of Disoord would have broke out into a great Flame. Ker fortunately prov'd either averse to Rebellion, or easy to return to his Duty. Some Reports went abroad as if he were Disloyal; but it is likely he clear'd himself, or if he was tainted, he recover'd, and had a Pardon for wavering. However that was, he prov'd the Instrument for bringing the Troops he commanded to Submission, and had not Straughan made his Escape to Cromwel, Ker had Orders to seize and carry him to St. Johnston's, where the King and Parliament were.

When this Mutiny was over his Majesty could not complain of the Behaviour of the Scots, who to assure him of their Sincerity crown'd him solemnly at Scone, in January 1651. They afterwards kept his Birth Day, and what was most material, they by Act of Parliament abolish'd the very Names of the Factions that had divided them till then; to the end they might for the future all join in restoring of their Monarch, without any Distinction of *Royalists*, or *Malignants*, Scots or English.

1651.
The King crown'd in Scotland.

They came to themselves too late. During that Time, Cromwel's Pro- the English had taken some considerable Posts; and the strong Castle of *Edinbrough* having no Hopes of Relief, surrender'd upon Articles, after a Siege of 3 Months. However the Nation reap'd two considerable Advantages by the Union of their Forces; the one was the detaining of *Cromwel* during the Winter on this side the *Forth*; the other the gaining of the King Time to lay his Designs, and raise Forces to put them in Execution.

A great Fit of Sickness *Cromwel* fell into, occasion'd His Sickness, through Vexation that the Rains had obstructed his taking of *Sterling*; contributed much towards gaining the King and Parliament Leisure to provide for the next Campaign, which it was suppos'd would afford Action, and prov'd so.

Cromwel was sooner ready to enter upon Action as he design'd; than the King; yet his Majesty was in a Condition to obstruct his being so speedy as he had propos'd to himself. The Royal Army was for the most Part compos'd of new rais'd Men, the remainder of those that escap'd at *Dunbar* Fight, being slain in an Action, wherein *Lambert* routed *Ker*. In order to discipline these raw Troops, and enure them by Degrees to Service,

1651.

vice, the King encamp'd at *Torwood*, near *Sterling*, and entrench'd himself there so strongly, that *Cromwel*, who came thither on purpose, could not bring him to a Battle. Had all others made good their Posts, as well as the King, the Usurper's Heat would have had Time to cool, and the *Scottish* Troops daily increasing, the *English* might have found such Opposition as would have put a Stop to their Conquests, and perhaps produc'd a Change of Fortune. But those who guarded the Banks of the *Forth*, next the County of *Fife*, perform'd not their Duty so well. *Overton*, an *English* Colonel, cross'd that River, near the Mouth of it, with little Opposition, and intrench'd on the Bank with about 2000 Men he had brought over; till *Lambert* joyn'd him with the like Number, *Sir John Brown*, and Major General *Holborn* falling on them with about 4000 Men; there ensu'd a hot Engagement, which lasted a considerable Time; but at length the *English* got the better, 2000 *Scots* were kill'd on the Spot, and 1200 taken, among whom was *Sir John Brown*, who soon after dy'd of his Wounds, or for Grief of his Disaster.

He besieges
St. John-
ston.

That Defeat struck a Terror into all the neighbouring Parts. *Inchergarvi*, *Brunt* Island, and several other considerable Posts surrender'd immediately, or made but little Resistance. *Cromwel* too well knew how to improve favourable Opportunities, to lose any of the Advantage this might afford him. As soon as ever he was acquainted with the new Success of his Troops, he left the King's Army, which had made no other Motion but to encamp before *Sterling*, where it was more difficult to attack it than at *Torwood*, and advanc'd as far as *St. Johnston's*, which he besieg'd, tho' the King had left a Garrison of 2000 Men in it.

The King
marches
into En-
gland.

Whilst *Cromwel* lay at that Siege, the King acquainted his Council with the Design he had of marching with his Army into *England*; hoping that the Diversion he should give there would at once deliver *Scotland*, and cause a Revolution in *England*. The *Scots* were hardly brought to consent to that dangerous Enterprize, which in case of any Disappointment, left their Country expos'd to the Will of the Victors; but the King prevail'd at last. After giving the necessary Orders for securing of certain Posts, which he thought could not be taken by the few *English*, *Cromwel* might be able to leave in

Scot-
land.

Scotland to maintain his Conquests, he set forward from Sterling, on the 10th of August, at the Head of 14000 Men, most of them Horse, commanded, under him, by the Dukes of Hamilton and Buckingham, the Earls of Lauderdale and Middleton, David Lesley, Montgomery, Wilmot, Wentworth, and other Prime Men of both Nations. He took the Road to Carlisle, and making great Marches, went far in a little Time; yet his Expedition did but half prevent Cromwel. There had been some Jealousy of the King's Design, and upon the Report spread abroad, that General, who neglected nothing, had detach'd Harrison, with a considerable flying Camp, and Orders to post himself between England and Scotland, so that he might be in the Way to observe his Majesty's Motions, and in case he went that Way to expect him on some Passes, where he might stop him, and they that were to follow might gain Time to come up.

Both those who had Orders to be before-hand, and Lambert those who were commanded to pursue, perform'd what they were entrusted with exactly. Lambert, who led the latter, made such an Expeditionary March, that he overtook the King's Rear at Warrington Bridge, over the Mersey, where Harrison was posted to dispute the Passage with him. There hap'n'd a very sharp Engagement, wherein the King had the better, having forc'd his way over Harrison, and left Lambert no more Inclination to follow him. Such Towns as would not surrender were rais'd by, those that did, secur'd, of which Number was Worcester, where the King stopp'd to refresh his Army, which well deserv'd it, having march'd above 300 Miles without any Rest.

Whilst the Soldiers rested, the King and the General Officers made it their Business to set those Engines at work, which produce Revolutions in England. His Majesty writ to the Lord Mayor of London, promising a general Pardon to all Rebels for all that was past, excepting only the Regicides; and in the same Letter most lovingly press'd his People to return to their Duty. At the same Time he publish'd an Order round about Worcester, commanding all his Subjects that were of Age to bear Arms, to repair to, and assist him to recover the Inheritance of his Forefathers, which had been usurp'd by Regicides.

Nei-

The History of the Revolutions in England,

Neither his Letters nor Orders had the intended Effect, and this was the first Time that ever *England* continu'd settled, having so fair an Opportunity offer'd to stir. His Letter was so ill receiv'd at *London*, that they caus'd it to be burnt by the Common Hangman; and his Order avail'd so little, that it scarce serv'd to recruit 2000 Men, that either dy'd by the way with the Fatigue, or deserted. *Francis*, Lord *Talbot*, Son to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, worthy of eternal Renown for this Action, was one of those that came in to him, with 60 Horse. The Earl of *Derby* was bringing him 1500, from the Isle of *Man*, but was met at *Marobester* by a Party of Parliamentarians, better Disciplin'd than his, which were new rais'd; who attack'd, routed, and wounded him, so that he had much Difficulty to escape, through Woods and By-ways, to come offer the King, instead of his Forces, his Person and good Will. Several Things concurr'd to render the People of *England* so cold towards embracing the better Cause, and ty'd them down to the worse, contrary to their natural Inclination to change; but nothing contributed so much towards obstructing a Revolution, which seem'd to be so near, as *Cromwel's* Celerity. At *St. Johnston's*, which was surrender'd to him, he had receiv'd Intelligence of the King's entering *England*. That Place is far up in *Scotland*, and yet all the Country, being so great an Extent between that Town and *London*, receiv'd the necessary Orders from that General in a very few Days. Besides *Lambert* and *Harrison*, *Fleetwood*, *Dean*, the Lord *Grey* of *Groobly*, *Desborough*, and several other Officers of his own bringing up, took the Field, and acted in their several Provinces. The same Spirit, the same Vigour, the same Activity, and the same Arts were every where made use of to keep the People peaceable, and encourage the Soldiers to espouse the worse Cause. Whilst every one of those Officers rais'd considerable Bodies of Men for *Cromwel*, he, after leaving *Monk* with 6000 Men, to carry on the War in *Scotland*, hasten'd into *England*, to animate the Parliament then in a Consternation on Account of the King's Approach, and check the People of *London*, who are always more favourable to those that oppose the Government in being, than to those that have it in their Hands. All was quiet when he drew near, and the City express'd so much Zeal to support the



Usurper, that a compleat Army march'd out to meet him at the Rendezvous. All the Rebel Forces joyn'd between the *Thames* and the *Severn*, where *Fleetwood* and *Dean* caus'd those they had brought from *Upton* to cross the Water, and met those *Cromwel* brought from *Warwick*, being all-together no less than 80000 fighting Men.

This Army, tho' so numerous, was less formidable for its Strength, than for the Zeal which inspir'd it for the Cause it was engag'd in. The King's was accus'd of being more indifferent; and some reported that the Scots had betray'd him. They endeavour'd to clear themselves in Print, proving that they had not betray'd him, but did not sufficiently make out that they had not forsaken him, and the Blame lighted chiefly on the Cavalry.

The Scots would clear themselves.

Cromwel lost no Time; but as soon as he had taken a View of the King's Forces lying about the City, resolv'd to fight them. On the 3d of September, a Day fatal to the Scots the Year before on account of the Battle of *Dunbar*, *Cromwel* attack'd the King's Camp, being two Thirds more numerous than his Majesty. He began at *Powick Bridge*, which was guarded by *Montgomery*, a Man likely enough to have made it good, but a Wound he receiv'd, and which made him withdraw, discourag'd his Men. They gave Ground, and that Post was soon lost. That ill Success made the King resolve to march out himself, and fall upon the Enemy, in the Wood on the other side of the City, with his Foot, who behav'd themselves very well. He at first took some Cannon, and had his Horse been more numerous, or those he had, fought better, he would have put the English Army into such Disorder, as might have occasion'd a Rout. The Cowardice of the Scottish Horse obstructed the King's making his Advantage of those Moments, which once lost never return again. He was forc'd to retire to the City, where having rally'd those that fled, he led them on again to prevent the Enemies entering the City with them. It might still have been sav'd, had not *Lesley's* Horse, which had suffer'd very little, refus'd the King to go back. Then the Earl of *Cleveland*, *James Hamilton*, *Careless*, and some more of those that were about his Majesty, and most concern'd for his Safety, perceiving the Case was desperate, desir'd him

Worcester Fight.

1651.

him to retire, whilst there was Time so to do, and to that Purpose form'd a small Squadron, with which they held the Rebels in play a while at *Sudbury Gate*. The King at their Perswasion drew off in good Time. No sooner was he gone, but *Fleetwood* entering the City, a Way which in the Confusion had been neglected, oblig'd those who still fought to retire to a Fort, where refusing to surrender upon the first Summons, they were forc'd, and all put to the Sword. Thus ended the Battle at *Worcester*, whereby a decisive Victory obtain'd the *English* Tyrant cut off the Lawful Sovereign from all Hopes of recovering the Throne, but such as depended on the Protection of him, who needs no other Power but his own to raise and pull down whom he pleases. Three Thousand Men slain upon the Field of Battle, Five Thousand taken, and the rest dispers'd, left the King no other Course to take, but to convey himself out of the Kingdom, and even that was no easy Matter to compass; *Cromwel* having taken all possible Precautions to prevent his Escape, even to forbidding the Relieving, or Concealing him upon Pain of Death, and offering a considerable Sum of Money (a Thousand Pound) to those that should discover him. The Dangers that Prince ran through, and his Adventures in making his Escape, are too curious a Part of the History of the Revolution I am writing, to be omitted by me. I deliver them from the written, and verbal Accounts of credible Persons, who had them from his Mouth.

The King's
Escape.

His Majesty left *Worcester* attended by Fifty Horse, of which Number were, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, the Barons *Talbot* and *Wilmot*. *Lesley* had joyn'd him with the Horse, which he pretended to lead back into *Scotland*; but whether the King thought he could not perform it, or whether he was out of Conceit with the *Scots*, when they had pass'd *Barbon Bridge*, he left them, and got as far as he could from *Worcester*, and his Enemies. As long as he was near enough to be taken for a Royalist that fled after the Loss of the Battle, he kept his Party together, for fear of being insulted by the Peasants, or expos'd to the Brutality of any Soldiers that might be straying about for Plunder. When he was pass'd that Danger, the Difficulty was to find a Retreat, where he might take

take some Rest in Safety, and adjust Measures for departing the Kingdom, in case he could not stay in it without being known. He propos'd it to the Earl of Derby, who told him, that after his being defeated by Lilburn in Lancashire, and flying a tedious Way, he came to a Place, where a Country Fellow, who had several Brothers, all of them as forward as himself, had conceal'd him so ingeniously, that no Man had perceiv'd it; that the Place was call'd *Boscobel*, not far distant from where they were, near the Edge of *Shropshire*; that the Country Man's Name was *Pendrel*, a Man of Discretion in his way, considerate, who wanted not for good Sense, of an untainted Probity, but a *Roman Catholic*. This last Qualification was none of the least that prevail'd upon the distressed Monarch to resolve upon *Boscobel* for his Retreat. He had been convinc'd by many Examples, that the Catholick Education teaches such a strict Loyalty to Kings, as is not to be found among Sectaries; and the Services done him by the *Pendrels* at *Boscobel* were farther Testimonies of that Truth. One *Gifford*, then in the King's Company, who was of that Country, undertaking to be the Guide, they came late at night to *Whiteladies*, formerly a Monastery of Nuns of the *Cistercian* Order, where one of the *Pendrels* liv'd. *Boscobel* is not far from thence, but it is likely his Majesty would not go directly thither, for fear so many should be acquainted with his Place of Retreat. They halted at *Whiteladies*, where the Earl of *Derby* sending for his Host *William Pendrel*, and his Brother *Richard*, put the King into their hands, after trusting them with the Secret of his Defeat and Escape, and making them faithfully promise they would assist him to their utmost. These Methods being taken, the King dismiss'd his Retinue, who were for going to join *Lesley*, keeping only *Wilmot*, whom he sent to *London*, resolving to follow him thither. For his Guide he gave him *John Pendrel*, a third Brother to him he was going to be conceal'd by.

When his Majesty had given these Orders, he resign'd himself entirely into the hands of the *Pendrels*, who cut off his Hair, discolour'd his Face and Hands, and put him on an old Sute of Clothes, which sufficiently disguis'd him. This done, without losing any Time, instead of *Boscobel* they conceal'd him in a Wood, where they contriv'd a Hut, in which he liv'd several Days.

God,

The History of the Revolution in England,

God, whose Providence particularly watches over Kings, had put it into the Hearts of the *Pendrels* to carry his Majesty away from *Whitladies*. No sooner was he gone thence, than a Company of Soldiers coming in, search'd the most secret Places, and gave notice, that as soon as the Fight at *Worcester* was over, *Cromwel* had sent out such Parties every way to seek for the King. The Rain hinder'd that which came to *Whitladies* from ranging about, and gave his Majesty the Opportunity more peaceably to take what little Sustenance and Rest his Hosts could procure him in that wild Place. *Richard Pendrel* brought him a Pillow from his House, and by the way call'd a Kinswoman of his, in whom he could confide, to bring him some Whitmeats, Butter, and Eggs to eat. The King was startled at the sight of her, and not knowing whether *Pendrel* had entrusted her with the Secret, to be satisfy'd in that Point, he ask'd her, How she durst resolve to be true to one that had been of the King's Party? The Woman did not declare, whether she knew the Secret or not; but answer'd, she would be true to him till Death; which Words she spoke with such an Air of Sincerity, that the King fear'd her no more, and made a coarse Meal of what she brought him, which Hunger made more delicious than any thing he had ever eaten.

Goes to
Madeley.

When the King had eaten and slept a while, he resolv'd to go away into *Wales*, where he had Friends, among whom he might stay in Safety, till an Opportunity could be found to conduct him to *London*, where *Wilmot* was to expect him. This made him ask his Hosts, whether they knew any body near the *Suvern*, that would conceal him till he could get over that River; and *Richard* answering, that one *Wolf* who liv'd at *Madeley*, would do him so much Service, and that he could answer for his Honesty, the King resolv'd to set forward the next Night, as he did, following *Richard Pendrel*, who was his Guide, a-foot.

They had but six Miles to go, but the Night was very dark, and the Way somewhat intricate, and an Accident made it still the worse for his Majesty. As they pass'd by a Mill, the Miller hearing the Gate open, which shut the Bridge over a Brook, rush'd out of his House, and in a haughty manner ask'd, whither they were going at that unseasonable Hour, and they still trying



trying to open the Gate, without answering, he run forward, bidding them stand. Then *Pendrel* leaving the Bridge, ran through the Water, the King following him by the Noise his wet Clothes made; for he could hardly see him. The Darkness prevented the Miller's Pursuit, besides that being very fat, he could make no great speed. Thus they came to *Madeley*, where *Pendrel* communicating the Secret concerning the King to *Wolf*, that loyal Subject did all that lay in his Power to serve his Prince. Having conceal'd him the best he could, he went himself to the River to see how Matters stood, but found all the Banks so beset with Soldiers, that he went home fully resolv'd to dissuade the King from that dangerous Passage. His Majesty believ'd him, and return'd with his Guide to *Boscobel*; went into the Wood, and staid in his Hut, whilst *Richard* observ'd abroad, whether there were no Parliament Soldiers about. Going his Round he met one, who agreeably surpriz'd the King. This was Colonel *Careless*, one of those brave Men, who to gain his Majesty time to get out of *Worcester*, and make his Escape, went to stop the Enemy at *Sudbury Gate*, where having behav'd themselves resolutely, as long as they thought it requisite for the King to get off, every Man took his own course, some flying, others surrendering themselves. *Careless* was one of those that fled, of the Country about *Boscobel*, knew the *Pendrels*, and was come to ask some Relief of them in his Distress. The King had hurt one of his Feet, and it put him to much Pain; to apply some Remedy to it, he went at Night to *Pendrel's* House, but staid no longer than his Foot was bathing, and to eat something; after which he return'd with *Careless* into the Wood, where *Pendrel*, who never thought his Guest safe enough, made him get up into a large Oak, which had a hollow Branch big enough to conceal him and *Careless*. There he slept leaning on that faithful Officer, and came not down till conducted to fill the hiding Place of *Huddleston*, a Catholick Priest, who then did his Majesty considerable Service, which he remember'd all his Life.

Return's to
Boscobel.

It was hard for his Majesty to lie long at *Boscobel* with-
out being discover'd. A Report was spread abroad, that
he skulk'd in those Parts; and one day one of the *Pen-*
drels going upon some Business to a neighbouring Vil-
lage,

their Fide-
lity.

1651.



lage, found some Soldiers there, whose Officer knowing whence he came, question'd him strictly about the King, and promis'd him a great Reward, if he could put him in the way to find the King. *Pendrel* faulters not the least upon that nice Trial; he kept the King's Secret; but his Majesty concluding, from this Adventure, that it could not be safe for him to stay in a Place that was suspected by his Enemies to entertain him, resolv'd to remove, and lie hid elsewhere. That *Pendrel*, who had gone to conduct *Wilmot* to *London*, told the King of another Place at his Return, after acquainting him, that all the most By-Roads to *London* were so full of Soldiers, that the Baron could not go, but staid at *Moseley*, at one Mr. *Whitgrave's*, where he lay in Safety till the Roads should be clearer for him to move farther.

Goes to
Moseley.

His Majesty hearing this News, and perceiving how eager his Enemies were to find him out, alter'd his Resolution of going to *London*, for that of departing the Kingdom as soon as possible, and caus'd himself to be conducted to Mr. *Whitgrave's*, where he took leave of the *Pendrels*, who had attended him thither, with the Husband of the Countrywoman, who carry'd him something to eat, the first Day he lay in the Wood.

Search
there for
him.

His Majesty found *Wilmot* at *Moseley*, but the Pleasure they conceiv'd at meeting was allay'd by an imminent Danger, which much threatned them both. They had not leisure to agree upon the Way and Method they were to take, before a Company of Soldiers appear'd at *Whitgrave's* Gate, resolv'd to come in. It was a Madness to resist; *Whitgrave* hid his Guests, and open'd the Doors with such an Air of Assurance, that the Soldiers had the less Inclination to make a narrow Search. That same Day the King was told there had been a Search at *Whiteladies*, where the commanding Officer had several times clapt a Pistol to the Breast of one of the *Pendrels* who liv'd there, to make him discover where the King was.

Removes to
Bentley.

The Danger thus daily increasing, his Majesty resolv'd to draw as near the Sea as he could, to be in a Readiness to embark upon the first Opportunity. Having communicated his Design to *Whitgrave*, and one Mr. *Lane*, a Neighbour of his, and a safe Man, the latter readily undertook to convey the King towards
Bristol,

Bristol, and in order to it, took him away to his own House at *Bentley*. *Lane* had a discreet Sister, who being let into the Secret, by the King's Consent, found the Means to go to *Bristol*, which his Majesty approv'd of, and succeeded well. She had a Kinswoman ready to Lye-in, at a Place call'd *Norton*, near that City. Under Colour of visiting that Kinswoman, Mrs. *Lane* got up a Horseback behind the King, who was in another Disguise, and pass'd for her Servant. A Woman a Horseback behind another Man follow'd for Decency, and *Wilmot* went with them, carrying a Hawk on his Fist, and Dogs, like a Falconer.

During this Journey, which lasted three Days, the King met with several Adventures, some of which diverted, and others made him uneasy. Scarce had he travell'd six Miles, before his Horse losing a Shooe, he went himself to the next Village to have him shod, that he might look like the Person he represented. Whilst he held up the Horse's Foot, the Smith ask'd him, What News, and whether the King was not yet taken? His Majesty answer'd, without hesitating, That he had heard nothing of it, but it was likely he was gone back into *Scotland*. *I don't believe it*, said the Smith, *but rather think he lies conceal'd in England. I wish I knew where, for the Parliament has promis'd a Thousand Pounds to any one that shall discover him.*

This disagreeable Dialogue ended with the putting on of the Shooe, which being over, the counterfeit Servant took up his Mistress again, and rode on till they came near *Evesham*; where being to cross a Ford on the *Avon*, about a Mile from the Town, some of them perceiv'd Horses Saddled on the other Side. The King was for going through, but he that guided them thought it not convenient. They took a Compass about, but got nothing by it, for they had more Cause to fear; the King and his Company, at Two or Three Hundred Paces Distance, coming in Sight of those very Soldiers they would have avoided. They came off with only the Fright. The King went on boldly, and his Company look'd so like a Country Family making a Visit in the Neighbourhood, that those Soldiers, who were looking for him, never had the least Notion that he was the Man.

1651.

*Accidents
there.*

Through these and the like Adventures his Majesty made his Way to *Norton*. He was there look'd upon as a Servant; but that he might have a good Bed, and be better us'd than the others, Mrs. *Lane*, who pass'd for his Mistress, pretended he was troubled with an Ague, and therefore had him lodg'd in a little Room, where there was a good Bed, and she sent him something to eat. That Fiction gave the King an Opportunity to discover that there was a Loyal Spirit in that Quarter. A Physician coming to see him, and perceiving he was not very Sick, drank the King's Health, and forc'd him to pledge it. The next Day, when he was at Breakfast, a Man, who said he came from *Worcester* Fight, and had seen the King there, put his Majesty into some Uneasiness, for fear he should know him; but it soon appear'd that what he said was false, when being ask'd about the King's Shape and Mien, whom he affirm'd he had seen Twenty Times, he answer'd very short, *He is Four Inches Taller than you.*

*The King
known.*

Whilst the King was recovering himself of the Fright that extravagant Fellow had put him into, another discreeter Person knew him through his Disguize. This was one *Pope*, Butler to the Gentleman where he was, who having formerly serv'd under him, when he was Prince of *Wales*, remember'd his Features too well to be mistaken. He stay'd till they were alone to discover to him, that he knew the Secret. Then casting himself at his Feet, he said, *You are the very same, Sir; it was not long before I knew you, and it would be in vain for you to conceal your self from me; you may safely own it. But consider, that others may discover it too, and make haste out of the Way, where so many are searching after you, and seeking your Destruction. If I can be serviceable to you, I shall think my self happy. Make Tryal of my Zeal, and rely upon my Loyalty.* His Majesty was surpriz'd, and at a Stand with this fresh Accident. He saw the Danger of Trusting a Man he did not know, and of seeming to mistrust one who might make out what he said. In this Confusion, the Sincerity that appear'd in the Man, made him resolve to deal plainly. The Event show'd he had judg'd right. *Pope* did his Majesty very considerable Service; and was one of those that contributed not the least towards his Escape. It was he that advis'd him to *Windham's* House, where that Monarch spent 19 Days

Days in much Safety, waiting for an Opportunity to embark.

*Report of
his Death.*

That was no easy Matter, considering the Measures that were taken, that no Persons unknown should be shipp'd off; and it was dangerous offering at it, the Masters of Barks, and other Vessels suspecting all those they did not know, to be the King, and fearing the Penalties threatned by the Parliament to all such as should conceal him. A Report was spread abroad of his being dead, which would have secur'd his Life had it held longer; he was inform'd of it by the ringing of Bells, and publick Rejoycing in all the Towns about the Place where he lay conceal'd; but that Notion soon vanish'd, and did not contribute towards facilitating his Transportation.

That Prince was doubly fortunate, which is very rare under those difficult Circumstances I now speak of; first in Regard that among so many Persons, most of them meanly born, as were entrusted with his Secret, none offer'd to betray him, or was tempted to accept of what the Parliament offer'd for discovering of him; and in the next Place, for that so great a Number of Confidants all serv'd him with Affection, and omitted nothing that might deliver him out of the Hands of his Enemies. *Windham* us'd all the Means a mighty Zeal could dictate to a Loyal Subject towards serving of his King. It was not long since one *Esdén*, a Merchant, had convey'd the Lord *Berkley* beyond the Sea, from the Persecution of the Parliament. *Windham* did not despair of gaining that Merchant, and prevailing on him to do as much for *Wilmot* as he had done for *Berkley*. To this Purpose he went to *Lyme*, where *Esdén* liv'd, and discoursing him in private, conjur'd him to do the same Service to a Man of Quality of the Routed Party at *Worcester*, as he had before done for another. He assur'd him he should carry but two Men, *Wilmot* having but one Servant with him, of all his Family, so that it might be done without any Noise, or Danger. *Esdén*, who was obliging, made no Difficulty of doing *Windham* and *Wilmot* the Service propos'd, and presently conducted the former to a Village call'd *Charmouth*, to the Master of the Bark that had carry'd the Lord *Berkley* over. They found him, agreed for the Passage, appointed the Day to go a-board, and a By-place, where

*His good
Fortune in
Adversity.*

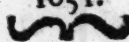
*Disap-
pointed of
his Pas-
sage.*

1651. the Bark was to lye, to take in *Wilmot* and his Servant. The King came thither punctually, but the Bark did not appear. They stay'd long in Hopes the Master would at least send Word why he did not come; but all in vain; none came, and all Things being dangerous, they hasted away from a Place, where there could be no Safety for the King. They guess'd at every Thing that might occasion that Disappointment, or Breach of the Master's Promise. No Man hit it, nor was it easy to imagine what had hap'n'd. *Esden* enquir'd and told them, that there had been a Fair at *Lime* the Day before that appointed for imbarcking, where the Parliament's Ordinances against such as should conceal the King, or help to convey him away, had been publish'd; that thereupon, the Master's Wife, understanding that he was to carry Tome Persons he would not name to her, over into *France*, had violently oppos'd him, and the better to prevent it, had lock'd him up as he was going to take some Linnen he had occasion for a-board.

*The King
in Danger.*

This Accident oblig'd the King to leave *Windham's* House, without knowing well whither to go. He went on towards *Dorchester*, attended by *Wilmot*, *Windham*, and one *Peters*, a Servant of his, who was their Guide. *Wilmot's* Horse losing a Shooe by the Way, had like to have discover'd the King. That Lord stopping to have his Horse shod, in a Village, where they had lain that Night, the Smith ask'd the Hostler, whence those Gentlemen came, he answering, they said they came from *Exeter*; the Smith reply'd, they came farther than that, and that the Shooes the Horse had then on were made in the *North*. The Hostler upon these Words reflecting, that the four Horsemen would not have their Horses un-saddled, nor did not go to Bed themselves, concluded thence, that it was likely they might be some Persons of Quality, of the King's Army, routed at *Worcester*, and that the King himself might be among them. Upon this Conjecture, he went to the Minister of the Place, a zealous Parliamentarian, and told him what he had fancy'd. It hap'n'd fortunately, that the Minister was then at his wicked Prayers, which he would not interrupt; but the Noise of that Accident, told about by the Smith, being spread abroad, the Parson took the Alarm, and gave Notice to the Magistrates. They ran

ran to Arms, search'd about, and sent out that Way they were gone. The King must have been infallibly taken, had he not turn'd short upon the Left, instead of going on in the Great Road, he was first upon. The Host, who had a Respect for *Windham*, and had been his Servant, told him all the Story, which was giving the King Notice to use all possible Precaution to conceal which Way he went, and try all Means to get beyond the Sea. Both grew daily more difficult, by reason of the many Forces all about the Country, design'd for the *Isle of Jersey*. His Majesty was surrounded by them every Moment, and could not go into any Inn, that was not presently full of Soldiers and Officers. It can never be sufficiently admir'd that he was not known. He was one Day very fearful of being found out by an Hostler at an Inn, who was helping him to bring the Horses out of the Stable, for those that pass'd for his Masters, and cry'd out to him in a familiar manner, *I have seen you before, and don't think I am mistaken; I am glad to see you again.* These last Words somewhat abated the Fright occasion'd by the first. His Majesty to be better satisfy'd of his Meaning, ask'd, where he had seen him; and he reply'd, *I have seen you at Exeter, in the War time; for I liv'd there two Years.* That again perplex'd the King, who had commanded at *Exeter*. His Presence of Mind stood him in stead, and he answer'd very unconcern'd, tho' making haste to get up a Horseback and follow his Masters, That it was very true, for he remember'd it, and had then serv'd one Mr. *Porter*; and when he came back they should renew their Acquaintance. Thus ended that Discourse, which, tho' not long, was very uneasy to the Monarch. He disengag'd himself very happily, and went on towards *Salisbury*, where *John Coventry*, Son to him that had been Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, provided for his lying conceal'd in a Widdow's House, till such Time as Colonel *Robert Philips*, now his Confident, instead of those that had attended him thither, and were dismiss'd, could procure him a Vessel at *Southampton*. He found one, but by ill Fortune, one of the Companies that were going to *Jersey*, came and press'd it; so that he was to begin again. Colonel *Gunter* provided another at *Bright-helmsted* in *Sussex*, by means of one *Mansel*, a rich Merchant, and his Friend. The King came and lay in a

1651.  Place near by that Town, in order to be gone, without losing any Time, as soon as the Bark was ready. *Mausel* brought *Tetershal*, the Master, thither, whom *Wil-*
mot made to sup with him; for he still went for the Master, and the Monarch for the Servant.

*Is known
by Teter-
shal.*

The first part of the Meal pass'd off talking of the Voyage they were to undertake the next Day, and the King thought he had no farther Danger to run, but that of his Passage, when the Master unluckily looking on, knew him, and taking the Merchant aside after Supper, said to him, *You have impos'd upon me, and hazarded to ruin me. I know the King, I know him; it is he who is disguis'd like a Servant, and he that looks like his Master is only a Confident to help make his Escape. You must needs know the Proclamation is out, forbidding all Persons to conceal him, and what a Reward is promis'd for discovering him.* The Merchant did all he could to undeceive the Sailor, being willing to be deceiv'd himself; for he did not then question, but that Servant was the King, and therefore was the more hasty to have him abroad. He conjur'd the Sailor, not to regard such Fancies, which endanger'd an honest Man, and would bring him into such Trouble as must ruin his Trade, and *Tetershal* himself could reap no other Benefit but the Trouble of having betray'd one that confided in him. *Mausel* spoke with such Eagerness as gave *Wilmot* the Curiosity to hear him, verily believing the Discourse concern'd himself. He drew near, and being inform'd what they debated on, seconded what the Merchant said, with so much Money and fair Promises, that he prevail'd on the Master, without convincing him. It was agreed he should go home directly, get ready his Bark, and sail the next Day. All being thus fix'd, the Master hasted home, and in a hurry ask'd his Wife for his Clothes and Provisions. *You are in great haste,* said she, *why can't you stay till to morrow?* And he still pressing her, *Go,* said she, *I perceive you are about carrying the King over; God speed you, and him too. It is a dangerous Undertaking, but provided you save him, I will be satisfy'd to beg my own and my Childrens Bread, as long as I live.* These Words encouraging him, *Tetershal* order'd his Affairs that the Bark might be ready to sail the next Morning by Five of the Clock. It was done accordingly, and the Bark came at the Time appointed to

to the Place, where it was to take in his Majesty. *Wil-*
mot went aboard, attended by the King, still in his Dis-
guise, and by those who help'd to procure him that Ves-
sel. They took their Leave very affectionately, and
then *Mansel* going up to the King, took him by the
Hand and kiss'd it, saying, Sir, *I was willing your Ma-*
jesty should deceive me: God send you safe to your Port,
and that you may soon return to reign in Peace over your
Kingdoms. The King answer'd smiling, that whenso-
ever that should come to pass, he would remember the
Service he had so generously done him. Being aboard
with him that pass'd for his Master, they put to Sea,
and sail'd all the Day so successfully, that at Night they
reach'd *Fecamp*, whence his Majesty proceeded to *Paris*,
and arriv'd there on the 30th of October, 1651.

Lands in
France.

Whilst the lawful Sovereign with so much difficulty
sav'd his Life, the Usurper reap'd the Fruits of his Vi-
tory in Peace. *London* had receiv'd him in trium-
phant manner, and all Societies had flatter'd him with
the pompous Title of Father of the People, and Deli-
verer of his Country. Above 5000 Prisoners had grac'd
his Triumph; very few of those that escap'd from the
Fight having miss'd falling into the hands of the Parlia-
ment Forces, which beset all the Roads. Thus, ex-
cepting only the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Talbot*, *Leviston*,
and some few others who had as good Fortune as the
King, and cross'd the Sea, almost all the Great Men on
the King's Side were made Prisoners. Duke *Hamilton*,
the Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, Colonel *Massey*,
Montgomery, *Middleton*, and *Lesley*, were of that num-
ber. Duke *Hamilton* dy'd of his Wounds; the Earl of
Derby was beheaded. *Cromwel* caus'd the Parliament to
grant all the rest a general Pardon, but with such du-
bious Clauses, as left him the Liberty of excepting any
that were against his Interest.

Crom-
wel's Tri-
umphs at
home,

The Re-union of all Parts of the *British* Monarchy un-
der the Government then establish'd, the News where-
of was brought the Usurper one upon another, after his
Victory, would have render'd this the most conspicu-
ous Year of all his Life, had it not been his Fate to ad-
vance in Prosperity till his Death.

And a-
broad.

Monk, left by him in *Scotland*, push'd on that Con-
quest with such Vigour, that as soon as *Cromwel* was
gone, *Sterling* was surrender'd to him, *Dundee* was

Scotland
reduc'd,

1651.

taken by Storm, and *Aberdeen* open'd its Gates. No other Place durst withstand him. In the mean while, *Alured* defeated the Earl of *Leven*, and other Lords that kept the Field. The Marquisses of *Argyle* and *Humley*, the Earls of *Glencarn* and *Athol*, who were the last that submitted; but some being overthrown by *Morgan*, and others by Necessity, they all yielded to the Conquerors, and with them to their Common Master.

And Ire-
land.

Ireland held out longer, as not having expos'd its Forces, like *Scotland*, to the Hazard of a Battle; and had they been well united, could the Catholics, who were most numerous, and the Protestant Royalists have agreed among themselves; *Ireton*, as able a Man as he was, could not have subdu'd them. He made his Advantage of their Divisions, and attacking them seasonably, when weak'n'd by Discord, took from them *Waterford*, *Duncannon*, *Athlone*, and lastly *Limerick*. After this last Conquest he ended his Days, a Man for his extraordinary Talent for Business, and for Villany, worthy the Place he held in *Cromwel's* Esteem, and Alliance. After his Death *Coot* took *Galway*, and so all *Ireland* fell under the Dominion of the Tyrants. *Fleetwood* was made Governour of that Island, and was doubly Successor to *Ireton*, by marrying his Widow.

1652.
Scotland
and Ire-
land uni-
ted to En-
gland.

From that Time forward, those two Nations, tho' never so unwillingly, continu'd Submissive to the New Erected Power. Some little Commotions there were afterwards in both of them; but *Monk* in *Scotland*, and *Fleetwood* in *Ireland* took such good Order, that none stirr'd without suffering for it; and at last *Ireland*, and even *Scotland*, which had struggled so hard to avoid being united to the *English* Monarchy, when govern'd by Kings, were brought to it under an *English Commonwealth*, set up by a private Man.

Islands
submis.

The Islands depending on the *Three Kingdoms* follow'd their Example. *Man*, *Jersey*, *Gernsey*, the *Orkades* own'd the New Power, without much Compulsion. Some Forts in *Jersey* held out, but expecting no Relief they yielded to Force, and Surrender'd.

Crom-
wel's Am-
bition,

Thus *Cromwel* re-united all Parts of the *Dominion* more closely than ever they had been; for having been dismember'd upon the Fall of their Sovereign, they were link'd together again by him that had cast him down to

raile

raise himself into his Place. He was already in Possession of the *Authority*, the *Power*, and the *Profits*; but still he wanted something which he would needs add. The Title of *General* he enjoy'd gave him no farther Character than to command the Army, he wanted a Title that would give him *Power* over both the Army and Parliament. His *Policy* towards the *English* was to attract *Honour*, and not to invade it; for he knew their Genius to be equally Prodigal in bestowing against Discretion, and in refusing contrary to Justice, according to the Impression made on them.

The artful Tyrant knew so well how to bring about such a Design, when all Things were fitly dispos'd for the Purpose; that instead of being oblig'd to rouse up the People, he pretended to restrain them; and thus whilst he satisfy'd the Ends of his Ambition, he gain'd Applause for his Modesty. According to this Scheme, perceiving that the Parliament through long Use of Talking in a Sovereign Manner, made Advances towards engrossing that Power, he resolv'd to Dissolve them, as fearing, that in the Disposition they were, those Republicans would scarce consent to his assuming a Title which would give him a Superiority over them. *His Arts*

There having been no Union between the Army and the Parliament but what *Cromwel* had cunningly made jealous of and supported; it was easy for him to break it; and by setting those two great Bodies at variance, to employ the one for the Destruction of the other. To this Purpose he only needed to give way to a private Jealousy the Army had conceiv'd against the Parliament; the former complaining, that the latter dispos'd of all Things at Will; that they distributed among themselves all Employments of considerable Value; that they play'd the Kings, and instead of one, *England* had then many, who made much less Account of the Laws, than the other they had made away with; that they embred the Kingdom in Blood, upon pretence of punishing those who oppos'd the Government, but in reality to satisfy their own private Revenge; that they endeavour'd to perpetuate themselves in an Employment which ought to be but for a Time, that so all the good Subjects of the State might share in it; that the Parliament ought to be dissolv'd, and a New Representative chosen by the uni-

1652.

universal Consent of the People, according to the Scheme laid when Monarchy was abolish'd to set up a Commonwealth.

*The Divisions
beigned.*

These Complaints, which *Crommel* had suppress'd, as long as it was convenient for him not to break off the good Understanding between the Parliament and the Army, broke out as soon as it was for his Interest to have them divided; and as soon as vented, produc'd the intended Effect. The Parliament answer'd in a haughty Manner, that it did not belong to the Army to meddle with the Civil Government; that it was their Duty to obey the Orders given by them; and that if they did not keep within the Bounds prescrib'd them, they should want neither Means, nor Courage to reduce them. This Haughtiness provok'd those People of a rough Profession, and both Sides grew hot. The Parliament was for disbanding part of the Army, under Colour that so great a Number of Troops was too expensive for the State, and then disperse the rest, leaving but one Half in *London*, and distributing the rest in several Parts, to observe the Royalists. The Army loudly protested, they would neither consent to the lessening of their Number, nor the dispersing of their Body, and publish'd a Declaration, wherein, after laying down their Grievances and Demands, they requir'd a speedy Answer.

*Disputes
about Go-
vernment.*

The People hated the Parliament, and the Parliament was sensible that if they were not supported by the People, the Army would soon be uppermost. For this Reason it was necessary to comply, and consent that some Form of Representative should be thought of to succeed that Assembly; and what they could not carry by a High Hand they hop'd to compass by Policy. It was agreed that 12 Deputies of the Army and as many of the Parliament should endeavour to fix that Representative. In fine, they met, but those of the Parliament did so protract the Time, by objecting the Laws of the Nation against all Forms of Government which were not to their Mind; that after rejecting many, they were about concluding by Plurality of Votes, that they would leave the Parliament as it then was, only substituting New Members in the Places of those that were dead, or should dye for the future.

Crom-

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

171

1652.

*Cromwel
turns the
Parlia-
ment out of
Doors.*

1653

Cromwel and the Forces, whose Designs would be quite ruin'd by that Project, resolv'd to oppose it; and that General, who till then had look'd upon those Debates, without seeming to espouse either Side, declar'd openly for the Army. His Declaration was soon follow'd by the Ruin of the Parliament. One Day when they were Sitting according to Custom at *Westminster*, he went thither, with some of the prime Officers of the Army, and a few Soldiers, and going roundly into the House, in an angry threatening Tone, said, *You have impos'd upon the People too long, and grow Rich under Colour of Reforming the Government. You should sit here for the Publick Good, but you think of nothing but your own Interest. You have been put into this Place to establish a Commonwealth, and you undermine the very Foundations of it, by appropriating all Things to your selves. You have hitherto deceiv'd us, but our Eyes are open, and we are resolv'd to be your Tools no longer. Be gone quickly, and since you fill up this Place so unworthily, make way for honest Men than your selves.* These last Words were spoken with such Boldness, as struck a Terror into all that Assembly. They continu'd in a dismal Silence, and one of them directing his Discourse to the General, and presuming to say, It was not Justice to run down the Innocent as well as the Guilty; *Cromwel* immediately stepp'd up, and laying hold of three or four of them successively by the Cloaks, said to one of them, *You are a Knave*; to another; *You are a Sor*; to a third and a fourth, *You are a Faithless Man*, and thus drove them all out shamefully. The Speaker sitting still, *Harrison* pull'd him out of his Chair; which done, *Cromwel* declar'd the Parliament was Dissolv'd, lock'd up the Doors, and put up a Bill, *This House is to be Let*. This Scorn added to the Insult, render'd all the Members of that Assembly as Contemptible as they were before Odious, exposing them to the Poet's Satyrs, and the Jest's of common Wits, whilst the Generality of the People and the Army loaded them with Curses. The Council of State was Dissolv'd as well as the Parliament; and thus *Cromwel* a second Time became not only Supreme, but the Creator of a Government. It was even in his Power to give it such a Form as was most agreeable to his Designs, and to take upon him such a Character as he thought fit. The Army, whose Party

*His Pra-
tices to
become
Absolute.*

he

1653.

he had espous'd, and the People, become more Submissive to him after that bold Stroke, were ready to consent to any thing. For the more Safety he thought it convenient not to be too hasty. Having made himself acceptable, he resolv'd to show that he was necessary, and to put Things into such a Condition, that it should be a Favour in him to accept of what they should be necessitated to confer on him, instead of being himself oblig'd, by demanding that which was not his Due. The Method he us'd to attain this End, was pretending a mighty Affection for a Popular Government; expressing a great Aversion, not only against Monarchy, but even against Aristocracy, and proposing a suitable Sort of Representative. The Faction which was for a Popular Government being much the Strongest, the Proposal met with the greater Applause, in regard that the sincere Republicans had been, till then, jealous of his extraordinary Power. The Representative Body he invented, at once dispell'd all their Fears. They subscrib'd the more readily to his Projects, because he seem'd to make it his Business to comply with others. Thus at his Instigation an Assembly of 148, of all Sects, all Counties, and all Conditions was form'd. Cromwel presided in the Election, which was made by the Officers of the Army, according to his Direction. It was none of his Design that they should chuse able Men; excepting a small Number of his own Creatures, whom he foisted into this Gang, to have an Eye upon the rest. Under Colour of picking out the Honest Men, he pick'd up a Parcel of People of no Note, no Birth, no Learning, and no Experience, most of them of those Fanatick Sects *England* swarms with, which are govern'd by a mad Zeal, and pretend to be Inspir'd.

Barebone's
Parliament.

It was then order'd, that their Authority should continue for Six Months. It was long debated, what Name they should assume, and at last concluded, it should be that of the Parliament of *England*. Cromwel, who turn'd all Things to serve his own End, was well pleas'd that an Assembly, which he foresaw would become Contemptible to the Nation, should assume a Name, which he intended to render Contemptible.

They are
perswaded
to Resign.

This Piece of Policy succeeded in every Particular according to the Scheme laid by the fortunate General. As soon as the New Parliament began to exercise their

Autho-

Authority, there immediately appear'd in all they did, and much more in what they would have done, if not prevented, so much Incapacity, and such an extravagant Conduct, that all Mankind cry'd out either to ridicule or complain of them. The People were at first satisfy'd with Talking, but at length they rais'd a Clamour, and that Clamour having brought Matters to the pass the General desir'd, in order to produce the intended Effect, those Friends he had in the Parlitment play'd their Parts so well, as to persuade the Majority to make no other Use of their Authority, but to resign it up to *Cromwel*. The Errors committed by the Assembly, the Contempt it was fallen into, and the Despair of correcting the Extravagancies of some Members, whose Behaviour render'd the rest contemptible, were the Motives for abdicating that Power they knew not how to use. The General's Capacity, his Experience, and the Affection of the People, were the Reasons propos'd for putting of it into his Hands.

The continu'd Success of the *English* Arms under his *Dutch* Direction, in the War then carry'd on against the *War*. States of *Holland*, added to his Reputation. This War, which had been kindled by degrees upon mutual Discontents about Trade, and the entertaining of the King in *Holland*, began by an accidental Engagement between *Blake* and *Van Tromp*, on account of Saluting and Striking; the *Dutch*-man refusing to submit to the other. The Event of the Battle then fought was doubtful enough, each of them claiming the Victory, according to the Genius of those Nations; and the same happen'd in four or five such Fights that were between them successively; but at last the *English* Fleet gain'd great Advantages over the other, the *Dutch* Admiral was kill'd, and the States, at the time I now speak of, su'd for Peace at *London*, and had Embassadors there to that purpose.

The Honour of this Success was divided between *Resolution* *Cromwel* and *Blake*, one of which had acted, and the *so set up* other directed; and this fresh Accession of Reputation *Cromwel*. to the General did not a little advance the Intrigues carry'd on by his Friends, to persuade the Parliament to resign up the Government to him. The Inferior Officers of the Army, who had conceiv'd Hopes of having their Shares therein according to their Posts, at first seem'd

1653. seem'd to oppose that Resolution; but Lambert, who thought himself likely to succeed Cromwel, manag'd them so well, that they permitted the Parliament to proceed. It was resolv'd, the General should be desir'd to take upon him the Care of the Government, without any Companions or Assistants. It was next debated under what Title he should receive it, and the *English* being as extravagant in their Complaisance as they are in opposing their Governours, the Business ran so high, that some were for making him King.

Cromwel
afraid to
accept of
the Crown.

Some say Cromwel was not at all indifferent as to the Title of King, and that a Crown charm'd him as much as it does other Men. If he lay under that Temptation, that Strength of Reason which made him overcome it shews a sublime Genius, which would have render'd him worthy of that Political Superiority the People had given him over them, had it been in their Power to give, or in his to accept without doing wrong. For those who say he was inclin'd to be a King, add at the same time, that he forbore, when he reflected, that the Pretence of publick Liberty, and the Hatred he had instill'd into the People against Kingly Government, had gain'd him that Reputation he stood possess'd of among the *English*; and therefore, if he became a King himself, he should overthrow the Foundation his Power was rais'd on, and build a Structure on Sand, which the first Storm of Adversity would overturn; that he should by that single Action break through all his Maxims and Promises, and appear quite another sort of Man; whereupon all Persons altering their Opinion of, and Behaviour towards him, after looking on him as the Assertor of the publick Liberty, they would regard him as an Usurper of the Regal Power, which would thereby recover many Friends, because if there must be a King, the lawful one would appear the best; that the Regal Authority would never be more circumscrib'd than under the Title of a King, against whom the People stood upon their Guard, and whose Privileges were restrain'd by Laws, which might be evaded under another Title.

Declar'd
Protector.

These were the Conclusions of a refin'd Policy, which made Cromwel overcome or prevent the Temptation of being a King. Modesty, the publick Good, the Desire of preserving to the *English* that precious Liberty he had labour'd to acquire them, were the Motives he pretended



tended for rejecting of that Proposition. He was satisfied with the Dignity of Protector of the Commonwealth, and under that Name was invested with the Power of governing alone; of calling and dissolving Parliaments; of making Peace and War; of making and appointing Officers and Magistrates; of conferring Titles and Honours; of issuing Proclamations; of bestowing Favours; of passing Decrees; of granting Pardons; of making or breaking Alliances with foreign Princes, and in short of doing all that the Sovereign Authority entitles Monarchs to do, bating some small Limitations, which he consented should be inserted into the Act for his Promotion, in order to continue some Shew of a Democratical Government, or the Shadow of a Republick, to impose upon the People.

His Policy.

As he could not deceive all Mankind, so neither could he prevent the forming of many private Conspiracies against him, and of some Parties that might have ruin'd him, had he been less watchful to discover, or less vigorous in suppressing them. He had Spies and zealous Emisaries in all Places, from whom nothing could be conceal'd. Few considerable Families were without a Pensioner of his. He had corrupted *Manning*, who was near about the King, and gave him Intelligence of all that Prince's Designs. By good Fortune he was discover'd, and made away, as so traiterous a Servant deserv'd; but before he was found out, *Cromwel* had by his Means disappointed a powerful Confederacy form'd against him, by two or three formidable Factions. The Royalists and Republicans had conspir'd together to ruin him, and their different Interests had not obstructed their acting in concert against him, whom they look'd upon as their common Enemy. The Protector had such timely notice of their Proceedings, that none could stir without meeting his Punishment. Such as were taken in Arms suffer'd Death; those who were not arm'd, committed to Goals, where such of them as were not transported to the Plantations, continu'd a long time, expecting Death or Liberty. This Conspiracy was to *Cromwel* a hundred-headed *Hydra*, which he was several Years cutting off; for still fresh ones sprung up, which made him uneasy, and temper'd the Satisfaction he had in ruling with many Fears and Vexations. But so prevalent was the Desire of Rule in him, that there never

1654.

Plots against him.

1654. never appear'd the least Inclination of purchasing his Safety at the Price of his Ambition. He was not weary of his Life, and therefore us'd all Means to secure it against the Contrivances of the Conspirators ; but still he was more in love with his Fortune than his Life, and consequently ventur'd the cutting of it short, that he might die at the Helm of Government.

1655. In vain did a Parliament, in which the Spirit of and
The Par- Affection for a Commonwealth were again reviv'd, at-
liament a- tempt to contend with him about continuing the Power
gainst him. he was possess'd of. He had himself conven'd that Assembly in the Year 1655. by the Authority given him as Protector. He expected to have found nothing there but Submission to his Will, and the better to bring that about had only summon'd the House of Commons. He found himself much mistaken, when after having in a lofty Speech expos'd the Confusion the Nation was in, before the Government was committed to his Charge, and the flourishing Condition it was brought into by his Management ; instead of returning Thanks, according, to the usual Custom, a profound Silence was observ'd, and they began the Session by chusing for their Speaker the same *Lenthall*, who had been so in the Parliament so shamefully dissolv'd by *Cromwel* in the Year 1652. This Beginning was follow'd by another Step still more offensive to the Protector, which was a particular Examination of the Act by virtue of which he bore that Title, and of the Powers annex'd to it. His Friends and Creatures exclaim'd against that Examination, alledging, that they ought to look upon that Act as the very Foundation of the Government, which it was not lawful to retrospect into ; but whatsoever they could say, the others proceeded upon that Point, and the Act was harangu'd against, as an open Oppression contrary to the publick Liberty. Some one had the Boldness loudly to declare, that since they came so near to Monarchical Government, it were much better to continue it in the Royal Family, which had been in possession of it, than to confer it on a private Person, who could pretend no Right to it.

*He pro-
tracts time.*

The Protector soon had an account of these Proceedings and Speeches, and did not sleep upon it, but went to the Parliament, and made a bold Harangue ; but that failing of the intended Effect, he resolv'd to have recourse

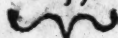
recourse to such violent Remedies as he was well acquainted with. The next Day he caus'd some Troops to be posted upon the Avenues that led to the Parliament House, and order'd those who commanded them, not to permit any one to pass without first signing a Paper containing these Words, *I will be faithful to the Lord Protector, and will not suffer the Form of Government under a single Person to be alter'd.* Some were loath to sign that which they were not willing to do; others were not so nice, and sign'd what was requir'd of them, with a Resolution to do nothing but what they pleas'd themselves. Thus that Parliament was a long time divided into two Factions, one of which was for confirming, the other for lessening *Cromwel's* Power and Authority. Verbal Contests deciding nothing on either side, he still exercis'd the Power they were for abridging him, thus running off the Time appointed for the new Parliament to sit.

It was happy for the Protector, that his Enemies *Dissolves* could not in five Months that Assembly was to sit, bring *his Parliam.* to Maturity a Design well enough concerted to have ruin'd him. They had engag'd a considerable Part of the Army. Their Measures were well enough concerted. They were to seize and impeach him before the Parliament, where he was to be try'd as the Subverter of that Liberty, which the People of *England* had purchas'd by suppressing of Monarchy. The Conspirators waited an Opportunity to declare successfully; but whilst they expected, were prevented. *Pride* discover'd them; the 5 Months were elaps'd, and *Cromwel* dissolv'd the Parliament, and broke the Officers of the Army that had been concern'd in the Plot. The Danger he had escap'd made him take surer Measures than he had done before to continue his Power. He made several Regulations, and those very useful for the Civil Government, for the Reformation of Manners, and even for Religion; for he affect'd to show an extraordinary Zeal in things relating to the Service of God, which deceiv'd the People. He punish'd Blasphemers with the utmost Severity, and caus'd Sunday to be kept with such Rigour, as might make Catholicks blush, and be a Pattern to devout Persons; he himself always acting the godly Part, and preaching to others. Luxury, Games, and publick Shews were restrain'd by severe Laws; and those he

N

enacted

1655.



Courts all
Sects.

enacted for the Administration of Justice, were no less for his Honour.

Whilst he thus regulated the publick Behaviour, he labour'd to gain the Good-will of all Men in particular, using all those Means he thought most proper to please those he design'd to bring over to his Party. He carry'd himself in such manner amidst that monstrous Diversity of Sects, which have divided *England* since the *Roman* Religion was banish'd, that no one of them thought it self destitute of Favour in him. According to his Disposition, all Religions in themselves were indifferent to him; with respect to Politicks, the Episcopal Party and the Puritans were naturally his Enemies, the former as Royalists, and the latter as Republicans. He persecuted the first of them openly, they not being so much as tolerated, and only proceeded against the others privately and under-hand. At this time he had some Friends among the Bishops of the Church of *England*, whom he seem'd to have a Respect for; and permitted their Followers to meet privately to perform the Divine Service after their Way. He behav'd himself much after the same manner towards the Catholicks, whom he never pretended any Aversion to, unless it were in publick Places, to please the People, and be thought a zealous Protestant by all sorts of Sectaries. He was even less averse to the Catholicks than to the Church of *England*, and an Historian of that Sect complains that the *Jesuits* never did the Reformation more Harm, and gain'd more Converts to their Church, than during his Government. He laugh'd, as well as other Men, at Fanaticks, as Quakers, and such like Mad-men, which the Spirit of Error has caus'd to abound in *England* in these latter Ages; however he was kind to them, and was willing they should think themselves worthy of his Protection. Having proceeded so far in Hypocrisy, as to counterfeit Inspiration, those Sects, which take their own wild Imaginations for heavenly Motions, did not look upon him as remote from their Principles and Doctrines, and that Conceit made them adhere to him. The *Independents* were his favourite Sect; but he was still more Independent than they, and really of no Sect, that he might the better manage them all. The outward Zeal he pretended to, for uniting all the Subjects of the *British* Commonwealth in the same Profession of Faith,

Faith, made him be consider'd, by those he impos'd upon, as the common Father of the Reformation establish'd throughout the three Kingdoms.

1655.

Cromwel was no less industrious to have Creatures of his own among all sorts of Conditions. Fair Promises and popular Behaviour were the most usual Baits he laid to draw them to him; for he bestow'd solid Favours on few, reserving them for himself and Family. Bating that, he scarce omitted any thing that might please; he us'd all sorts of Complaisance, and could sute himself to all Humours and Tempers. Among the Godly he play'd the Zealot, was polite among the Nobility, and hunted with the Country Gentlemen. He us'd at certain times to kill Deer in his Parks, and distribute them among the Country People of the Neighbourhood, with some little Money. They who had seen him among the Army Officers and the Soldiers, would have thought he had always liv'd among them, and understood no other Profession, so great was his Familiarity with them, so naturally did he fall into their Way of Discourse, and join with them in Interest, Diversion, and even in Play.

1655.

Fawns upon all Degrees.

Whilst *Cromwel* by his Artifices gain'd the Affections of such as were dispos'd to be deceiv'd by him, he was no less vigilant over the Actions of others, and continually invented new Ways to discover all Plots contriv'd against him. Great Service was done him by 14 Major Generals, whom he sent into several Parts, with extraordinary Power. The Colour he made use of for so doing, was the raising a new Imposition on all those that had born Arms for the King, impos'd by his own Authority, as if he had wanted Money. He sent those Major Generals to raise that Tax; but at the same time order'd every one of them to observe exactly all that was done within their several Districts, and to send him an Account. Thus was he soon acquainted with every thing that happen'd throughout *England*, where those Majors grew so formidable, that he was at last afraid of them himself, and after having made use of them to form a Parliament, which was demanded of him, and he could no longer refuse, to his own Mind, he recall'd them, and suppress'd that Employment.

Arbitrary Proceed-ings.

The Protector had this Bout taken all the necessary Precautions to have a Parliament for his Turn; and

1657. accordingly had all the Satisfaction he could expect from this, which met in the Year 1657. He had call'd to it *30 Scots*, and as many *Irish*, to represent the whole Body of the fine Commonwealth, whose Head he has. That *Parliament* *offers* *Cromwel* *the Crown.* Assembly apply'd it self altogether to flatter him, and proceeded so far in it, as to press him earnestly again to accept of the Crown, and take upon him the Title of King; but the same Reason which made him refuse it the first time being still in force, he held his former Resolution, and was satisfy'd with having the Protectorship continu'd to himself, and made hereditary in his Family.

Plots discover'd.

Cromwel's counterfeit Modesty in refusing the Crown offer'd him by this Parliament, increas'd the Number of Fools that were deceiv'd by his Dissimulation; but his open Ambition, which appear'd more manifest than ever to all Men of Sense, in the Act that made the Title of Protector descend to his Children, provok'd the Republicans again. *Lambert* having now lost all Hopes of succeeding him, privately favour'd them. The Royalists thinking to make their Advantage of the new Division among the King's Enemies, prepar'd for another Insurrection, during which the King himself was to go over into *England* to countenance his Friends. The Protector's Emissaries soon acquainted him with those Intrigues; as many as were suspected to have a hand in them were taken up, and few of those that could be convicted escap'd unpunish'd. *Lambert* himself was disgrac'd, and his Commission given to *Fleetwood*, who was newly come out of *Ireland*, the Protector having sent *Henry* his 2d Son to succeed him.

Cromwel *thrown and* *dragg'd.*

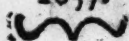
An Accident had like to have done that in a moment, which could not be brought about by so many powerful Parties, and private Conspiracies, in several Years. The Duke of *Holstein* had presented *Cromwel* with a very fine Set of Horses, who to shew a Sprightliness little becoming his Age, and much less his Dignity, got into the Coach box to make trial of them: As soon as he was seated the Horses ran away, threw the Postilion and him, so that his Clothes hanging either to the Pole, or Wheel, he was dragg'd a long time, and far. The Danger of the frequent Conspiracies enter'd into against his Life, having prevail'd with him to carry Fire-Arms privately about him, a Pistol he then had went off, the Report

Report whereof made the Horses the wilder. However that fresh Spring help'd to get him loose, and the Wheels having mis'd his Body, he was left stretch'd out upon the Ground. He was thought to be dead; but came off with several Hurts and Contusions, which were some Time in Cure.

The Tyrant's Hour was not yet come, and it was his Fate to be fortunate as long as he liv'd. God had decreed to make him an Example of the vain Prosperity which blinds the Wicked; his Power still encreas'd till his End; and could Honour be consistent with a Villain rais'd by the Murder of a King, he had dy'd the most renown'd Man in *Europe*. Being Master of three Kingdoms, he beheld all the Neighbouring States contending for his Friendship. *Holland* had purchas'd a Peace upon hard Terms; the King of *Portugal* courted him, tho' affronted by him in the Person of his Minister; whose Brother having kill'd a Man, had been executed at *London*, without any Favour shown. The Northern Crowns had done the same; and that which pleas'd *Cromwel's* Pride more than all that, the Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, not being able both to enter into Alliance with him, had su'd for the Preference, which the former obtain'd.

Spain had been forwardest; the Catholick King the Spain first first Crown'd Head that own'd the Commonwealth of *England*. *France* had at least the Honour to be first ap- ply'd to, and even to reject some Proposals that seem'd advantageous.

The Queen Regent had the Reputation of that Acti- on, which hap'n'd thus. At the Time when *Cromwel* was preparing to make War upon the States, the Count *D'Estrades*, since Mareschal, and then Governour of *Crom-Dunkirk*, was block'd up there by the *Spaniards*. He saw a Siege coming on, and no appearance of any Relief, the Civil War continuing in *France*, and the Queen, who had been oblig'd to send away Cardinal *Mazarine*, having occasion for her Forces elsewhere, for the Design she had in Hand of re-calling that Minister. The Protector taking the Advantage of that Opportunity, sent over to *Dunkirk*, and propos'd a Treaty to the Count *D'Estrades*, by which he offer'd the Queen to maintain a Land Army, and 50 Men of War for her Service; if she would give him that Town, which she was not able

1657.  to keep. The Count gave *Cromwel's* Messenger an ill Reception, and threatned to throw him into the Sea, if ever he made him such a Proposal again; but however, did not omit to give the Queen an Account of it. The Court was then at *Poitiers*, where the Cardinal, who, tho' banish'd was still advis'd with, being inform'd of the Treaty propos'd by the Protector, press'd her Majesty to accept of it, as a sure Means to establish her Authority against the Factions. The Queen Regent had many Reasons to induce her to follow this Advice, and that of facilitating the Cardinal's Return was a considerable one. However she did not comply. The Scruple of putting a Catholick Town into the Hands of a Protestant Nation, and ent'ring into an Alliance with the Usurper of a Throne, which belong'd to a Grandson of *Henry* the IVth, prevail'd then with that Religious Princess above all other Considerations. The Proposal was rejected; and consequently *Dunkirk* taken, which did not return under the Dominion of *France* in a long Time, and after several Treaties.

The Alliance concluded with France.

The Affairs of the *French* Court having taken another Turn, through several Intrigues, which are not for my Purpose, so that the Cardinal was re-call'd, and the Prince of *Conde*, his implacable Enemy, oblig'd to go over to the *Spaniards*; the Cardinal becoming more absolute since his Return, than he had been before, made the Queen Mother sensible of the Danger she brought the Kingdom into through her Scruple of entering into an Alliance with *England*, whilst *Spain* us'd all possible Means to ingage the Protector to joyn the Forces of both Nations, in order to take *Boulogn*, and *Calais*. *Cardenas* had set that Negotiation on Foot, and the Marquis *de Lede* was then at *London* carrying it on. *France* then laid aside all those Considerations, which had so long obstructed her treating with *Cromwel*, to reflect upon that Danger. Decency gave way to such an urgent Necessity. The President of *Bordeaux* was sent Ambassador to *London* to offer the Alliance with *France*, which the Protector preferr'd before that of *Spain*; but deferr'd to accept of it, that he might purchase it the cheaper, and the more, that *Europe* might have Time to behold a Spectacle so pleasing to his Pride, as it was to have the two greatest Monarchs in the World contending for his Friendship. The Substance of his Treaty

with

1657.

with France was, that he should furnish 6000 Land Men, and 50 Sail of Men of War, to take the Maritime Towns belonging to the King of Spain in Flanders; upon Condition that *Dunkirk* should be put into his Hands when taken, and what was most grating, that the King of England and the Duke of York should be oblig'd to depart France. Those who alledge other Reasons besides urgent Necessity, to save the Cardinal's Reputation on this Score, say, There was a Secret Article between that Minister and the Protector, in the Treaty, by which the English were oblig'd to restore *Dunkirk* to France, for the Sum of Money afterwards actually given for it. However that was, the Town was then taken, and deliver'd to the English.

Vicecount *Turenne*, who commanded the French Army and the English Auxiliaries, began with *Bourbourg* and *Mardyke*, which took up the Campaign of the Year 1657. The Month of June following gain'd him *Dunkirk* and the Battle on the Downs, more Honourable to that Great Commander than any of the other Victories he obtain'd in his Life, for defeating an Army there in which the Prince of Conde fought with his utmost Bravery, tho' not so Successfully as at other Times, because under the Conduct of another; *Don John* of Austria and the Marquis *de Caracena*, having the Chief Command of his Catholick Majesty's Forces in Flanders. The Duke of York was there in Person. He had serv'd in the French Troops till the Alliance with England, and gain'd much Reputation. The same Necessity that induc'd the French Ministers to enter into the Alliance with the Protector, had oblig'd him to change his Side; the Bravery he show'd in the Battle abovemention'd redoubled the Concern of the French for having lost him.

The English were much rejoyc'd to be put into Possession of *Dunkirk*, and it added much to Cromwel's Reputation, whose Successes seem'd to multiply the nearer he drew to his End. Of two Squadrons he had fitted out, to carry on the War against Spain, the one commanded by *Pen* and *Venables*, had some Time since taken the Island of *Jamaica*, in the West Indies; the other under *Blake* had newly burnt the Spanish Fleet, in the Port of *Santa Cruz*.

1658.

*Cromwel
falls sick.*

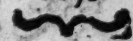
This was the Posture of *Cromwel's* Affairs, when he was seiz'd by an Ague, which at first seem'd slight, but turning to a *Tertian*, verifi'd the Scripture Oracle, that the Joy of the Hypocrite is but a Point. Such he continu'd to the last Moment, counterfitting Godliness till Death, without being really so when he dy'd; for several Historians inform us, that, tho' he found himself very ill; tho' his Physician told him he was in much Danger; yet he ventur'd to deliver a Prophecy; and pretending to particular Heavenly Inspirations, as to his own Concern, positively declar'd he should not die. Some add, that he had so much Confidence in the Physician, who admir'd he should be so positive in a Case that at best was but dubious, as to tell him he ventur'd nothing by saying so, and might make a great Advantage of it, *If I die* (said he) *I shall be run down as an Enthusiast, or a Hypocrite, and when I am dead it matters not what they say of me; but if I recover, I shall be look'd upon as a Person Inspir'd; and what may I not do with these People, if I am so reputed?*

*His Dis-
temper.*

It was believ'd that Domestick Troubles had contributed towards his Distemper. One of his Daughters, whom he particularly affected, dy'd, and being troubled at her Death with furious Deliriums, reproach'd him to his Face with all his Villanies. *Fleetwood*, his Son-in-law, was in League with *Lambert* and the Republicans, who gave him so much Uneasiness, that he was grown Jealous even to Distraction. He had for some Time past scarce lain two Nights in the same Room, and no Body knew what Apartment he lay in. Nor was he much more fortunate in the rest of his Family, than in his Son-in-law. His Brother-in-law *Desborough* visibly inclin'd towards a Popular Government. Of the two Sons the Protector had, the Eldest was least fit to Succeed him. He plainly perceiv'd it; but perhaps stay'd too long to order Affairs, which requir'd Time and Precaution. He was almost in a Lethargy, when some one asking, whether he did not appoint his Eldest Son *Richard* to be Protector after his Death, he answer'd, he did; but after such a manner as plainly evinc'd, he would as freely have said, No.

His Death.

Thus *Cromwel* hasten'd on to his End, notwithstanding his Prophecy, which the People had plac'd such Confidence in, that they had already given Thanks to God



His Character.

for his Recovery. It was in the Year 1658, and on the 3d of September, so fortunate to him for two Victories, gain'd at *Dunbar* and at *Worcester*, that he ended his Prosperity and his Life, which had been attended with all that could make a wicked Man famous. Cardinal *Mazarine* is said to have call'd him, a fortunate Mad Man. I do not think that was his true Character. Actions so well laid and concerted, and so properly plac'd, are not the Product of a Thoughtless Man, who succeeds in all Things because he contrives Nothing, whose indiscreet Projects succeed meerly by Chance; and who rises, only because he has run himself into a thousand Dangers of falling down headlong. When *Cromwel* began to follow the Impulse of his Ambition, which was his prevailing Passion, he never thought of Supplanting the Kings of *England*, and placing his own Family, which was of a slender Gentility, in the County of *Huntington*, on the Throne of the *Stuarts* and the *Plantagenets*. All Men agree he never had that Notion; tho' it is reported, that his Father had caus'd him to be whipp'd, when a Boy, for saying, that an Apparition had told him he should be a King. *Cromwel* had no Faith in Apparitions, and was not to be led, when a Man, by the Imaginations of his Infancy. He had resolv'd all his Life-time to raise his Fortune, and to try all ways towards it. That was his whole Design, when he enter'd upon the Course he took; happy if that of Virtue had occur'd first; it is likely he might have follow'd it, as well as that of Wickedness, had he there met with such sure Means to rise, and succeed; being himself indifferent to either, and fitly qualify'd to advance in both. It was his Misfortune, that the Troubles gave him notable Opportunities of exerting himself among the Authors of them; he thought that was the way to make himself known, and become necessary to a Party that was insensibly engrossing all the Authority. When he was known there, he resolv'd to Rule; but being as Pliable as he was Ambitious, he Rul'd by appearing Submissive, always holding out to the Publick mighty Names outwardly vested with Dignities, which he manag'd himself. Proceeding thus gradually, and laying his Schemes as Events offer'd Opportunities, he rais'd himself by King-killing, by great Victories, and by all the Arts of most refin'd Policy, to the Sovereign Power, which

1658.

which he supported by the same Methods, and dy'd possess'd of it. Such a Man, in my Opinion, is not so properly a Fortunate Madman, as a Judicious Villain.

Richard Cromwel *Richard Cromwel* having neither his Father's good, nor his bad Qualities, could not support that Structure which had been rais'd by both of them. He was a good sort of Man enough; an Enemy to Violence; of indifferent natural Parts, and had never improv'd those he had, either by Education, or Experience. The Protector kept him in the Country, where the Young Man diverted himself with Hunting, never interfering in Publick Affairs, or seeking after it; being Timorous, and incapable of attempting, and much less of putting in Execution those Things which requir'd Vigour and Resolution. His Weakness was well known before he was rais'd to the Protectorship, and it is reported, that, if his Father, who knew him better than others, had not been snatch'd away by Death, his Younger Brother *Henry*, who was still in *Ireland*, would have fill'd that Place, and been much more proper for it.

Four Factions.

Richard's Instalment having only serv'd the more to expose his Incapacity; all Men aiming to make their Advantage of it, the Nation was divided into four Factions. The Protector's, and of those that pretended to support him; that of *Lambert*, who aim'd at his Place; that of the Republicans, who for the same Reason that they had overthrown the Royal Government, were for subverting the Protectorship, in order to settle a Popular Government in *England*; and that of the King and his Loyal Subjects, who labour'd to restore him to the Throne of his Ancestors.

Lambert and Fleetwood against Richard.

Lambert and the Royalists being as yet in no Condition to act barefac'd for themselves; they thought it their best way to begin by supporting the Republicans, who were working against the Protector, and help them to empty that Place, whence each Party flatter'd themselves they might afterwards exclude them. The Storm that threat'ned *Richard* gather'd at *Fleetwood*, his Brother-in-law's, whom *Cromwel* having flatter'd with some Hopes of the Protectorship, had envenom'd his Heart against him that possess'd it. The Republicans knew it, and thinking to pull down a Family that obstructed their

Designs by its own Members, made it their Business for some Time to heighten *Fleetwood's* Discontent, complaining of the Wrong done him, and putting him in Hopes of Redress, through their Zeal for his Advancement; practising much the same Artifice with him, that *Lambert* intended to use with them; that is, making him expect to be Head of the Government, that by his Means they might the better settle a Government without a Head. *Fleetwood* was a sort of Saint of *Cromwell's* bringing up, but not so Crafty, and fitter to be deceiv'd than to deceive others; as appear'd by the Management I am now speaking of. *Vane*, *Hasturig*, *Harri-son*, and the other Sticklers for a Commonwealth, among whom *Lambert* appear'd as Chief, perswaded *Fleetwood*, that he ought to take upon him the Government, and prevail'd with him to present a Petition to the Protector, in the Name of the Army, demanding of him that they might not be Cashier'd, or Try'd, but by a Court Martial, and that for the future they might chuse their own General.

Richard receiv'd those Proposals with much Indignation, and for some Time made them apprehend he was more resolute than they had imagin'd; but the Disorder he seem'd to be in, when that Heat, which proceeded from his natural Temper, was over, soon discover'd his Weakness, and how unlikely he was to hold out long against Men that would not be deny'd. They put it hard, and oblig'd him to call a Parliament, whose Authority he hop'd would support his, and curb the Army. It prov'd in vain, for the Army pursu'd what it had began, and press'd the Parliament to grant their Demands.

That Parliament was compos'd of two Houses, like the former, and had a Mixture of three sorts of People, all which, upon different Views, were unanimous in the resolute opposing of the Army. One Party was sincerely for the Protector, and voted for supporting his Authority, and rejecting the Petition of the Army. The second was of the Republicans, who agreed with the others, in order to exasperate the Soldiers. The third was of the Royalists, who had resolv'd to push on all that might embroil the Rebel Factions. Thus the Parliament positively rejecting the Soldier's Petition, and they insisting upon it, all Men saw that Matter was dri-

1659. driving to Extremity. *William Howard*, who had serv'd *Cromwel*, and was still with his Son, was earnest with *Richard* to exert himself by some vigorous Action, like those which supported his Father's Authority till his Death. You are *Cromwel's* Son, said he, show your self worthy of it. This Business requires a bold Stroke, and must be supported by a good Head; do not suffer your self to be daunted now, and my Head shall answer for the Consequences. *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and *Vane* are the Contrivers of all this. I will rid you of them, do you stand by me, and only back my Zeal for your Honour, with your Name. *Richard* was surpriz'd at these Words. He answer'd, in a Consternation, That he did not love Blood; that he would never offer up so many Sacrifices to his Ambition; and in short, that he could never consent to what *Howard* propos'd. That *Mercy*, reply'd *Howard*, who was still of the same Mind, is not now seasonable, as Matters stand. We may shed that Blood which contrives to spill ours, without being fond of Bloodshed; and tho' Conscience may obstruct a Sovereign's Sacrificing an Innocent Person to his Ambition, it does not oppose his Executing a Criminal for his own Safety. Lay aside that Pusillanimy, so misbecoming the Successor of *Cromwel*; but be quick, for every Moment is precious; consider that your Enemies spend this Time in acting, which we waste in Consultation. *Howard's* Heat could not make its way into *Richards* Heart; he own'd the Obligation, but did not alter his Mind, and said, Talk no more of it, my Resolution is fix'd. Violent Councils do not suit with me, and all you can perswade me by that you now give, is that it proceeds from true Friendship, for which I am thankful. Hereupon *Howard* withdrew, and leaving a Man who abandon'd himself, to his Fate, joyn'd the Royalists, where he was of use to the better Cause. I have read in good Memoirs, that he was at that very Time engag'd in the King's Service, and only gave that Advice to let his Enemies together by the Ears. That is not unlikely; but the whole Authority of Historians is against it. Whatsoever *Howard's* Intentions were, the Protector was soon made sensible of the Truth of his Words, by an insolent Remonstrance the Officers of the Army deliver'd to him, to present from them to the Parliament.

That

That Paper began with a Complaint, of their want of Care in suppressing the Royalists, who, they said, were reviving their Plots on all Sides; and concluded, by proposing a Popular Government, as a powerful Remedy against that Evil, which was in ambiguous and yet intelligible Terms. Such of the Members as proceeded with Sincerity were offended at that Remonstrance; those who lov'd the Protector, plainly perceiving the Intent of it, voted it Seditious; those who at the same Time betray'd both the Protector and the Parliament, to support the Republican Party, pretended to resent it more than the others, in order to draw on the House to pass some Vote, that might cause the Soldiers to Mutiny. Thus it was unanimously agreed, not only to reject the Remonstrance, but to forbid the Officers and Soldiers caballing together; till such Time as the Parliament should have order'd the Publick Affairs, as they thought most for the Good of the State.

1659.
Army Remonstrance rejected.

That Inhibition had the Effect the Republicans expected. The Army was so inrag'd, that they sent to desire the Militia of London to joyn them; which they did, and went in a Tumultuous Manner to besiege Whitehall, where the Protector resided. Fleetwood and Desborough were deputed to deliver the Request and Threats of the Mutiniers. Their Request was to Dissolve the Parliament; and their Threats imported no less than Fire and Sword, if he refus'd. Richard had not the Heart to oppose such imminent Danger. After some short Resistance made in such manner as assur'd those that su'd to him of Success, he comply'd, and Dissolv'd the Parliament.

The Army mutinies.

The Parliament dissolv'd.

As soon as he had so done, he was look'd upon as a lost Man, and tho' they let him rest a few Days, without making any Show of proceeding any farther; yet such as were clear-sighted foresaw, that the Calm threat'ned a Storm; that they were taking those Measures they had not Time before to adjust, for settling the Government, and that as soon as they had fix'd that Point, they would depose Richard. The Royalists laid hold of this Opportunity, to advise him and his Party to side with the King. They thought he might be the more likely to espouse that Interest in his declining Fortune, because it was reported, that he had formerly cast himself at his Father's Feet to beg King Charles the First's Life; which

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Action

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Richard irresolute:

1649. Action had render'd him odious, and contemptible. *Richard* waver'd, but it did not become *Cromwel's* Blood to do any honest Action. He chose rather to leave his own Fate uncertain, than to hazard any thing to mend it, fearing he might precipitate, instead of preventing the Danger. But his Friends having open'd his Eyes, show'd him the Danger so near, that he resolv'd to fly for it. *Fleetwood*, whom he acquainted with his Design, assur'd him, there was no Design against his Life, and that, if they took away the Government, they would make him such a Fortune, as would satisfy a Man of his Moderation. These Words stopp'd him, and he continu'd in his Palace from that Time, without any Action, like a Statue that makes an unbecoming Ornament. In the mean while, the Council of War broke all the Army Officers that were of the Protector's Faction, as *Goff*, *Ingoldsby* and *Falconbridge*, restoring those his Father had formerly cashier'd. Thus *Lambert* was again made Major General, under *Fleetwood*, in appearance, he being declar'd General; but in reality governing all, as *Cromwel* had done under *Fairfax*. Nor did they stop there; these New Lords would have a Parliament for their Turn, and believing they could never have one so absolutely at their own disposal, as the ignominious Remains of that which had murder'd the King, and been so shamefully dissolv'd by *Cromwel*; they restor'd it, and would have *Lenthal* to continue Speaker, as he had been before. This done they contriv'd a Form of Government, till such Time as they were agreed upon such a sort of Commonwealth as some desir'd, and all pretended to be for. All this Commotion ended, as had been expected, in deposing the Protector, and abolishing the Protectorship. He gave them no Trouble about deposing of him; he resign'd at the first Word; on Condition they should pay his Debts, and he was assign'd out of the Publick Revenue a sufficient Allowance to live with some Distinction as a private Man. His Brother *Henry* was still in *Ireland*, where he had a good Army, the Command whereof and the Government of that Island were taken from him. He made some Difficulty to submit, but did not follow his first Motions, and at last dishonourably quitted a Place he had held with much Reputation.

Council of
War gov-
erns.

Richard
depos'd.

The Republican Party having thus overthrown the Protectoral, there still remain'd two of those Factions that had concurr'd with the Republicans for abolishing the Protectorship, both of them as averle to a Commonwealth as they were opposite to one another, which were *Lambert's* and the King's. Thus upon this new Change, three several Parties came upon the Stage; that of the Republicans, in the Parliament; *Lambert's*, whose main Strength lay in the Army; and the King's, which having no Head in the Nation, at least none that durst appear, consisted of People scatter'd throughout all Societies, all Towns, and almost all Houses, till such time as General *Monk* heading those, who only waited an Opportunity to declare for their Sovereign, had the good fortune to restore the King and Monarchy.

1659.
Three Factions.

Some will have it, that the said famous Restorer of the *English* Throne never had that glorious Design, till the other he had conceiv'd of making himself absolute, appear'd impracticable. The Nation is divided in Opinion as to this Point. After examining what is alledg'd on both Sides, I am for *Monk*; and have too powerful Reasons to convince me of his Integrity in that Point, to leave the Readers dubious. The Character conceiv'd of his Talent has been one of the Motives for doing this Wrong to his Virtue; but that of his Behaviour ought to counterpoise it, and make us think quite otherwise of him; but there is a sort of Men in the World, who when there are two equivalent Reasons to judge well or ill of a Man, never hesitate, but always conclude ill. It is true *Monk's* Talent had not till then appear'd fitted for carrying on an Affair at a great distance, by means of long-sighted Intrigues, Compassings, deep Dissimulation, and Connections manag'd by the most refin'd Policy, which he made use of in restoring of the King; but at the same time, that Commander's Behaviour had never given any Cause to believe that he was ambitious of making himself Protector. Ambition was one of the Passions that least prevail'd in him, and he seems to have been moderate in them all. He was born in *Devonshire*, with such Capacity and Inclinations as became an honest Gentleman; being a younger Brother, and of little Fortune; but brave, generous, desirous to live like a Man of Honour, in the Exercise of Arms, which he follow'd as soon as able, and took'd upon rather as an

Monk's:
Character
and De-
fence.

1659.



an Imployment becoming what he was, than as the Means to attain to something he coveted to be. His Application to what he had in hand render'd him capable of doing any thing within the Sphere of his Imployment. Thus he ran through all Posts, from a Colonel to a General, and from the Government of a Town to that of a Kingdom. His Inclination and Duty at first engag'd him in the King's Service; Necessity afterwards drew him half-way over, and Gratitude brought him to the worst Side. He had been taken in a Fight, and committed to the Tower of *London*. The Parliament offering him a Command against the King, he refus'd it; but afterwards proposing to him to go over into *Ireland* to make War against the Catholicks in the Name of the King and Parliament, tho' they were then warring upon one another, he went and continu'd there till the Death of King *Charles* the First. All the Royal Party being then dispers'd, and no Footsteps left of them, *Cromwel* did *Monk* a good Turn, protecting him in the Parliament, which would have brought him to a Trial, for having concluded a Truce for some Months with the *Irish* Catholicks, contrary to an Ordinance of theirs. In gratitude for that Kindness, *Monk* follow'd *Cromwel* into *Scotland*, and there *Lambert* and he being Equals, became Rivals.

Lambert's Character. *Lambert* quite outshin'd *Monk*; he was as brave, and as skilful in War; but more hot, more ambitious, more haughty, and fitter to be Supreme; no Man was more like *Cromwel*, or properer to succeed him. He had too soon discover'd, not only that he was capable, but that he aspir'd to it. *Cromwel* was too politick to suffer a Man to rise without Opposition, who might succeed him, and aim'd at it; he had preferr'd *Monk* before him, in the Government of *Scotland*, contrary to what he had made him hope; he had afterwards cashier'd him, and thought he had laid him low enough, to prevent him ever looking up to supplant his Family. Notwithstanding all those Precautions, *Lambert* would have try'd for the Government with *Cromwel*'s Heir, had he found People in the Parliament that would be twice impos'd upon, as he did in the Army. He had the Disposal of the Forces, after being restor'd to his Imployment. *Fleetwood*, whom he had caus'd to be chosen General, was his *Fairfax*, and the Pretence of a Common-

Commonwealth, which had stood *Cromwel* in stead to engage those who were for one to favour his Usurpation, began to work its Effect. The Parliament express'd the Confidence they had in him, and gave him a Commission to fight for them, upon occasion of a Tumult rais'd against that hateful Assembly.

The Occasion of it was thus: The Presbyterians were *Sir G.* engag'd to see themselves again brought under that Hand-Booth's ful of Villains, who being the least and most inconsiderable Part of what is call'd a Parliament, were therefore, in Contempt, nam'd the *Rump*. The Discontent was so universal, that a Conspiracy was carry'd on, which might have ruin'd the Usurper and his Adherents, had it been better manag'd. *Sir George Booth* was the Head of that tumultuous Undertaking, wherein some say he might have been more successful, had he been more absolute. For it was not only the zealous Part of that Sect who had engag'd in the Project; but most of the King's faithful Servants had eagerly embrac'd so favourable an Opportunity to remove the greatest Obstacle there was against his ascending the Throne, by destroying the Regicide Gang that had excluded him. Thus at the same time that *Booth* appear'd about *Chester* with *Middleton*, at the Head of a compleat Army; others show'd themselves in other Parts, and all Counties swarm'd with them. The Parliament sent *Lambert*, with about 7000 Men, against those two Commanders, who advanc'd from *Chester* towards *Norwich*. It is reported that *Booth* would have staid till his Troops were better disciplin'd, and us'd to stand Fire, before he fought *Lambert*; but that others more hasty oblig'd him to engage against his Inclination. They fought near *Norwich*, where it appear'd, that *Booth* understood better than his Council, and that it was not without Cause he had been apprehensive of setting new-raisd Men against Veteran Troops. He was routed and taken, and with him fell his Party, which the Parliamentarians dispers'd with as much Ease as it had been rais'd.

Whilst these were in Action, *Monk* still consider'd *Monk pre-* on, and concerted the Measures how to proceed upon *pares for a* sure Grounds. His Fidelity to *Cromwel* had descended *Turn.* to that Usurper's Family; for he had own'd *Richard*. *Monk* was naturally inclin'd to leave things that were once settled, as he found them; to follow the Stream, and

The History of the Revolutions in England,

and not to meddle in publick Affairs any farther, than he was oblig'd by his Honour or Interest; being timorous, slow in undertaking, and never possessing himself so strongly with the Conceit of an Enterprize, as to believe the Success of it infallible, being less fiery, or conceited, than is usual among People of that Profession.

Monk's
Secrecy.

It is likely, that as long as the Protectoral Government had been universally own'd, *Monk* gave way to his natural Inclination with the less Scruple, because he ow'd his Rise to *Cromwel*. I have not been able to discover, even among the Historians whose Opinion I follow, when it was precisely that he return'd to his Duty to his King, and form'd the Design of restoring him. I differ from those who pretend that General never thought of restoring the Monarchy, till he despair'd of obtaining the Protectorship. It is to be believ'd he had always a sincere Desire in his Heart, to contribute towards so righteous an Undertaking. Even upon quitting the King's Service, he had declar'd he hop'd to be one Day in a better Condition to serve him. It had been often foretold to him, that he would have it in his Power to restore his Sovereign to the Throne; and tho' he did not seem to give Credit to those Predictions, he lov'd to hear them. His refusing to abjure the King, by an Oath invented by the Enemies to Monarchy, proves, notwithstanding the Pretexs he made use of to conceal the true Cause of his Refusal, that he was always well inclin'd to the Monarchy and the Monarch. But how good soever his Sentiments were, he conceal'd them as long as he thought them, either of no use to his Prince, or destructive to himself, if discover'd. This was no Trouble to him; for he talk'd little, he heard all things with Sedateness; and tho' he had but a small Number of Confidants, he discover'd not himself to them till there was need. Thus tho' he could not sometimes hinder the Actions of others from rendering him suspected, as happen'd in the Affair of *Booth*, yet his own Behaviour always remov'd that Jealousy, and he carry'd it so that the Publick never knew his Design till it was executed. What is most remarkable in it, that to all appearance, the King himself knew nothing of it, any farther than by Conjectures he might make from the civil Answers *Monk* gave to those that apply'd to him in his behalf. I know there are several Memoirs, which mention the

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General's sending to him at first, to offer his Service; but those, who gave that out, never consider'd, that if it had been true, it had never been question'd; that *Monk* would have made it out himself, in answer to those who said, that the King's Restoration had been the Consequence of his Disappointment, and a secondary Design. That General's Historian would not have been necessitated to urge other Reasons to vindicate him in that Particular, if he could have alledg'd that, which he might so easily have known, having been so long a Servant and Agent to him whose Apology he writ.

However that Circumstance stood, which is not for my Purpose, it is certain that General did not make known his Design of restoring the King to the Throne, to any but those he thought were necessary for advancing it, and as he saw they became so; being fully convinc'd, that the Success of that Affair did not only depend upon the Secrecy of it; but that it could never be brought about, without doing like Men that row in a Boat, that is, looking the contrary Way from that whither they intend to go.

He lay in wait for a favourable Opportunity to begin that Work, when a great Contest between *Lambert* and the old Parliament offer'd him the best he could have wish'd for. *Lambert* and the old Parliament had too different Views to continue long unanimous. The Parliament were for a Republican Government, that they might all share in it, and support one another in the Authority they had usurp'd. *Lambert* aim'd at governing alone, and mov'd towards it underhand in all *Cromwell's* Ways. He laying hold of every Advantage to promote his Design, concluded that the Victory obtain'd over *Booth* was a favourable Opportunity to push on his Enterprize, and went about to improve it. That Action had entirely devoted the Troops he then commanded, to his Interest. The others had a greater Respect for him. Thus his Reputation was advanc'd above one half in the Army. The better to fix it, he undertook to make a new Promotion of Officers, and artfully put the Army upon asking it of the Parliament. They being no less vigilant to support their own Authority, than *Lambert* was to lessen it, in order to make himself absolute, made no doubt but that the Request of the Army was an Artifice of *Lambert*, to make his own Creatures.

The History of the Revolutions in England,

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1656.
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The Army
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A Commit-
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Weeks.

For this Reason, they not only refus'd to make the Promotion propos'd, but broke several Officers, under colour of saving Expences. *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* were of that number. *Fleetwood* suffer'd least, being appointed one of the seven Commissioners, on whom that House conferr'd the Command of the Army, with the Title of Lieutenant Generals, and equal Authority.

It is not to be express'd how much that Ordinance offended the Army; but it is easy to guess how pleasing their Discontent was to ambitious *Lambert*, and what Care he took to improve it; we may judge of it by the Consequences. The very next Day the Army appear'd under Arms about *Westminster*, and having possess'd themselves of the Palace Yards and Avenues to the House, hindred the Members resorting thither, and so broke off the Sitting. *Lambert*, and the Army Officers, being Masters of the Field, and no longer regarding the Parliament, which they look'd upon as dissolv'd, made several Changes to their own Minds, and for their Turns. Thus *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and *Desborough* were restor'd to their Posts, and such as they suspected to favour the Parliament, cashier'd. The Council of War having usurp'd the Sovereign Authority, began to consult about some Form of Government that might be lasting, and put an End to those unhappy Convulsions that had so long distracted the Nation. The Council of State being still afoot, the Army Officers thought fit to confer with them in that Affair. They chusing rather to share that Authority, which they ought to have had entire, during the Intervals of Parliament, than by contending to hazard the losing of all, agreed with the Officers, that Five Persons should be deputed out of each Body to contrive such a Form of Government, as they might stick to. Whether those Deputies mistrusted their own Power, or whether they would not be answerable for the Consequences of such an Undertaking, or for any other Reason unknown, they concluded upon nothing but the composing of a Senate, as some call'd it, or rather, as the *English* generally name it, a Committee of about 28 Persons, whereof *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and *Vane* were the Chiefs. This Committee was entrusted with the present Management of Affairs, for the Term of six Weeks their Authority was to last, and principally to apply it self to find out that settled

settled Form of Government, which so many others had till then in vain sought after; and if they pitch'd upon none in that Time, it was resolv'd the Army should have the Management of the State.

Whilst the Committee was employ'd in forming several Projects of Government, none of them agreeable to the several Interests of the Members composing that Assembly, *Lambert*, with much Satisfaction perceiv'd, that the Army was like to have the Sovereignty; and that he being Master of the Army, would soon, as he design'd, have the entire Disposal of the Government; but on a sudden they were inform'd, that the old Parliament was working under hand to creep in again; and pretended, that having only ceas'd to act on account of the Violence offer'd them, it was their Right to go take their Seats again at *Westminster*. The City dreading the unbounded Dominion of the Army, demanded a free Parliament, and the Committee was perplex'd with several Popular Commotions, which they found a Difficulty to suppress. However it is likely, that neither the Intrigues of the Parliament, nor the Tumults in the City, would have wrought much upon Men who had the Disposal at pleasure of a Victorious Army; had not *Monk*, who never before discover'd any of his Designs, laid hold of so favourable an Opportunity to pretend one he had not, in order to bring about that he had; viz. To seem to support the Parliament against the Army, that he might subject them both to the King, whom he undertook to restore.

Monk had spent the Time elaps'd since the deposing of *Monk's* *Richard Cromwel*, and the abolishing of the Protectorship, till the falling out of the Army and the old Parliament, in disposing Affairs towards his real Design. He had gather'd Money, and had a full Treasury. He had put *Scotland* into such a Posture, as not only to be out of danger of shaking off the *English* Yoke, whilst he was employ'd elsewhere, and obstructing his Projects; but to serve him as a Retreat, in case of any Disappointment. There were some strong Places, and he left good Garrisons to secure them. Besides the Nation lov'd him, and the Nobility in all Parts seem'd well dispos'd to espouse his Interest. He had prepar'd his Forces to execute a considerable Enterprize, and to stand a War successfully, if there were occasion. He had form'd, hardned,

1659. d'ned, and disciplin'd his Army for the Purpose he design'd them; and chose rather to lessen it, than to entertain suspicious Persons, he could not rely on. It was one of the most difficult Parts he had to play, so to purge his Troops of intractable Officers and Soldiers, who had different Views and Intentions from him. It oblig'd him to begin several Times to reform, and turn out; and yet could he not do it so thoroughly, but that when he least expected it, whole Companies would desert. His Watchfulness and Application prevented the ill Consequences those Accidents might have occasion'd in his Affairs, and it came to pass at last, that among all those who commanded he was the only one that they firmly adher'd to. He had secur'd *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, two Posts of great moment, on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, for those that will carry the War out of the one into the other of them. He had settled private and true Intelligence in all Places, where any thing could happen that was requisite to be known by him. He spent the Nights in decifering the Letters he receiv'd, and answering them. He had behav'd himself in such manner towards the King, and those who apply'd to him in his Behalf, that, without promising any thing, he left them room to hope the best, without discovering enough of his Intention for them to affirm any thing concerning it, and making an unseasonable Discovery, still giving Light enough for them to behave themselves accordingly, and be ready to make their Advantage.

His Behaviour towards the Royalists.

Such was his Behaviour towards Sir *John Grenvil*, afterwards Earl of *Bath*, who went to him into *Scotland*, with Letters from the King; he sent him away well pleas'd, and that Gentleman had conceiv'd such mighty Hopes from what he told him, tho' he said nothing positively, that he afterwards acted in the Common Cause, as if he had been in Concert with him. The General had been more open with others, according as he thought it requisite underhand to dispose them to forward that Turn he was going to give to Affairs, when it should be a proper Time, and to put them in the way for restoring of the King. But those Confidants were his own Men, of whose Fidelity he had long Experience; whereas Experience having also taught him, that among those who follow'd his Majesty's Court, there were some that betray'd him; he wisely concluded, that

that the safest way was to let him act on his own side, with his Courtiers, whilst he and his Friends proceeded on their side, in promoting his Cause. And for the better deceiving of those it was requisite he should delude, he had began to use greater Severity than usual towards such as indiscreetly declar'd for the King. Tho' he had always refus'd to abjure the Royal Family; yet he never seem'd to dislike that Proposal, in the Projects of Government form'd by the Republicans, that there must be a Commonwealth without a King, or House of Peers, or any single Person to exercise the Sovereign Authority. Thus had that wise General privately dispos'd Affairs for the Execution of a Design, which he could not yet make known, without hazarding the re-uniting of all the Factions against himself, and being oppress'd by the Multitude of those, who either out of Fear, or Interest, or by being engag'd in a Faction, made publick Profession of opposing the Restitution of Monarchy. He only wanted a Pretence to proceed upon, which he found in the Rupture between the Parliament and the Army, towards the latter End of the Year 1659. He began in *October* to instil Zeal for the Civil Government into his Troops, in opposition to the Martial Government the Army in *London*, or rather *Lambert* in their Name would engross to himself. He earnestly represented that a Martial Government was not proper for a great State, that it was too violent, too unsteady, and too subject to Fancy, and Rashness; besides that it was a thing never heard of, without any President, contrary to the Laws and Customs, not only of *England*, but of all Nations in the World. Then he magnify'd the Affront offer'd by *Lambert* and his Party to the Supreme Court in *England*, and represented it as a general Wrong done to the whole Nation. And to raise a Jealousy in the *Scots* Army against the *English*, he declar'd by way of Comparison, that there was no Reason the former should submit to the latter, protesting he would venture all, rather than so many brave Men who had serv'd under him, should be so much slighted.

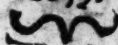
His Insinuations to the Army.

At the same Time the General himself, or his Friends for him, express'd himself after this manner, he writ to all Parts to gain Followers, he sent Expresses all about, and Agents to such Places as he thought necessary. So

His Agents in all Parts.

that

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that he had some in *Ireland*, and aboard the Fleet commanded by *Lawson*; for that under *Montague* was reckoned sure for the King. He had others in *London* to gain that City, which did not well agree with the Parliament, but was wholly averse to the Army. He wanted not for some in that very Army, among the Republican Officers, who having discover'd *Lambert's* Projects and Ambition, began to fall off, and leave the Committee. Others were with *Fairfax*, and several Lords, who having withdrawn themselves from the Tumultuous Assemblies in the Capital, dissatisfy'd with what was transacting in the Government, seem'd to lye by in their Houses only waiting an Opportunity to embrace some Party against those Tyrannical Factions.

Applicati-
ons to him
for Accom-
modation.

The News *Monk* receiv'd from most of his Agents gave him to understand, that he should have Auxiliary Forces, when he was in a Condition to overcome with his own. Thus he bent all his Thoughts upon taking the Field as soon as possible, at the Head of a good Army, firmly resolv'd to stand by him. He met with more Difficulties on that side, than he had expected: Besides Desertions, which had weak'n'd his Forces, and the Reforms he had made to get rid of suspicious Persons, those very Men that adher'd to him, desir'd he would send Proposals of Peace to their Brethren in the *English* Army, so they call'd them, according to the Presbyterian Cant. That Proposal was very disagreeable to the General, who was not desirous of that Peace with his Brethren of *England*, which did not suit with his Designs. He had already dismiss'd several of their Deputies, without giving them any Hopes of the Accommodation they came to propose. *Falconbridge* was gone back with the Dissatisfaction of having done nothing. *Caryl* and *Barker*, two famous Ministers had succeeded no better. *Morgan*, after performing the Duty of a Messenger sincerely and like an honest Man, had staid in *Monk's* Army, and taken a Command there. *Clarges* the General's Brother-in-law, and the best of his Friends, had done the same, bating that he return'd to *London*, where he hop'd to do his Kinsman more Service, than if he had staid with him.

His Refe-
sion, and
Applicati-
on to the
Scots.

After so long refusing to come to an Accommodation, *Monk* thought of nothing but fighting; for the Committee was sending *Lambert*, with part of the Army, to meet

meet and oppose him, in case he refus'd to accept of Peace on such Terms as that General was commission'd to offer him. *Lambert* was already come to *Newcastle*, having prevented *Monk's* Forces in securing that Place. Considering the Inclination of those two old Rivals to fight, it is easy to judge, that the Proposals of Peace they were oblig'd to make troubl'd both of them equally. However *Monk* thought he had rid his Hands of that Perplexity by the private Instructions he gave to the Deputies sent to *London*, in Complaisance to his Officers. Those Instructions were, to protract the Treaty, and start such Difficulties as might prevent coming to any Conclusion. In hopes that Artifice would have all the Success he expected, the General hasten'd to take the last Measures for the Safety of *Scotland*, and to assemble his Forces to enter *England*. The *Scots*, the Chief of whom he assembled at *Edinburgh*, continu'd to express their ready Compliance to all he should desire. Some of them seem'd to fear, he might leave them expos'd to *Lambert's* Tyranny, in case of any Disadvantage; the *English* Forces he left in *Scotland* being too weak to secure them, and there being no more in *Scotland*, but what he took with him. *Monk* easily remov'd all those Fears, giving them to understand, that he looking upon their Country, and Friendship, as his safest Retreat in case of any Misfortune, left their Towns in a fit Condition to give Check to any powerful Army, and gain Time for routed Forces to recruit. He also promis'd, in a short Time to increase those Forces he left them, with a considerable Number of others that were preparing for him, and which he should meet on his Way; giving them to understand, that he could rely upon Friends he had, even in *Lambert's* Army.

The Winter, and Rainy Season, which had spoil'd the roads, obstructed his Army's coming together so soon as he had projected. He could not set out till *November*, and began his March towards *Berwick*, on the 8th of that Month. He advanc'd with so much Satisfaction, that it appear'd in his Countenance, and in all his Actions, not questioning but that during the Time of a Treaty, which could not be brought to a Conclusion, he, having to do with a hasty, conceited, brave Man, and all with all those Designs a mighty Ambition inspires, might have Time to gain that by his Sword, which was not

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not to be expected by Treaty. He was marching full of such Hopes, when being come to *Haddington*, on the Road from *Edinburgh* to *Berwick*, some Officers of the *English Army*, sent by *Fleetwood*, came to bring him the News of an Accommodation concluded, between his Deputies and the Committee. The General was at the same Time inform'd, by Letters from his own Deputies, that they had been oblig'd to conclude that Treaty, after such a manner as they could not withstand. Their Apology consisted of several weak Reasons; among which it is like that they did not alledge was the greatest, *viz.* Either their Weakness, or Falshood.

Articles
between
his Depu-
ties and
the Com-
mittee.

This News discompos'd *Monk*, and put him into such a heavy Humour that all Men were concern'd at it. He saying nothing, and every one seeking after the Occasion of his Discontent, they were hasty to read the Articles of the Treaty, which they found to this Effect, 1. That there should be an Amnesty for all that was past. 2. That several Persons imprison'd by *Monk*, either for attempting to seize some Frontier Towns in the two Nations, as was the Case of *Cobbet*, or for attempting to debauch his Army, should be set at liberty, and their Number was considerable. 3. That all Rights belonging to the King and the Royal Family should be entirely abolish'd. 4. That the Three Kingdoms, which compose the *British Monarchy* should for the future be govern'd in the nature of a Free Commonwealth, without King, House of Lords, or Single Person. 5. That Two Officers of every Regiment in the Armies of the Three Nations, should meet to consult about the Form of Government the Committee should lay before them, and the Power of the People's Representatives in Parliament. 6. That there should be a Meeting at *Newcastle* of 14 Persons chosen out of *Monk's* and *Lambert's* Armies by those Generals, to regulate Affairs concerning the Officers that had been of late cashier'd, Suspended, or Reform'd. 7. That both Armies should draw back into their own Quarters, there to be at the Disposal of those, that should, according to the intended Regulation, be entrusted with the Care of the State.

Are re-
jected by
his Army.

These Articles, when read, appear'd so liable to Exceptions, and so fitly contriv'd to give the Officers of the *English Army* an Opportunity of continuing their Tyran-

1659.

Tyranny, and oppressing Monk's Army, that they unanimously cry'd out, The Three Deputies had been frightened, or impos'd upon, and they ought to march on as they had began, without any Regard to a Treaty, which had been extorted by Force on the one side, and Fear on the other.

The General was much pleas'd to observe the good Effect that vile Treaty concluded at London had on his Forces, and conceiv'd great Hopes of the Success of his Designs. However he suppress'd both his Hopes, and Satisfaction, that the Uneasiness he show'd and the Confusion he seem'd to be in might still heighten the Indignation of those Officers; affecting a dismal Silence, and returning to *Edinburgh*, as if he had design'd to submit to the Treaty. This Artifice was as successful as he could have wish'd. He was belov'd; that deep Melancholy they thought had seiz'd him very much troubled his Friends; the Resolution they believ'd he had taken to admit of the Treaty disturb'd those who were afraid of falling under the Yoke of the *English Army*; they all press'd him to except against it, to require it should be explain'd, and at the same Time to march on. He had heard them without disclosing his own Mind, till being come to *Edinburgh*, and walking in a Hall amidst his Officers, whom he permitted to Talk, without speaking one Word himself, but looking full of melancholy Thoughts, one of his Friends came in abruptly, and in a hasty manner, when the General spy'd him, he said, Well, what do you think of the Treaty concluded? I have not read it, answer'd that Person, but have heard talk of it, and upon what has been told me am come to make a Request to you. Monk seem'd amaz'd at those Words, and said to his Friend, You surprize me; what can you ask of me, under our present Circumstances? A Pass, reply'd the other, to go aboard a Vessel, that is ready to sail into Holland. The General still more concern'd, rejoyn'd, Why, will you leave me, in this Condition? For that very Reason, I would leave you, said the Officer, because you are in this Condition; for after such a Treaty concluded, I cannot see how you can escape Ruin. For my own Part, I have no mind to resign my self up in Cold Blood to the Mercy of my Enemies. Monk looking upon that, as a favourable Opportunity, if it was not his own Contrivance, in order to disclose himself, without hazarding too much,

He tries
them, and
they re-
solve to
stand by
him.

1659.

much, answer'd in a louder Voice than before. *Do you blame me for that shameful Treaty? To clear my self, I must tell you, that if the Army will stand by me, I will stand by the Army.* These Words deliver'd with an Air of Resolution, wrought such an Effect on the Company, that every Man cry'd, he would live and die by the General. Never Commander was follow'd with more Zeal, than upon this Occasion; never were more solemn Protections made of an entire Devotion; in short, the whole Army was of the same Mind, and even the meanest Soldiers show'd a Resolution to share in their Leader's Fortune and obey his Orders, without asking any Questions.

Monk encouraged
to proceed.

Monk, to make the best use of that favourable Disposition, call'd a Council of War, where it was resolv'd, that the Treaty should not be absolutely rejected, to avoid giving Occasion to say, they were against Peace; but that the Ratification should be deferr'd, under Colour of requiring some Articles to be explain'd, which seem'd ambiguous; that nevertheless the Army should continue their March, enter *England*, and advance towards *London*, unless *Lambert* oblig'd them to fight; which would gain Time, with very little Management, to stave off the Explanation, the Preliminaries, and the Contests in the Treaty, and they would take care not to expose the Managers, as they had done the first Time to treat in such Places where their Adversaries were Masters. The General was the more willing to follow this Advice, because he had Intelligence out of all Parts, by Letters he receiv'd from *Ireland*, from *London*, from the Fleet, from *Fairfax*, and from other Lords, who were in Arms at *York*, that they espous'd him warmly; that his Party every where prevail'd, and *Lambert's* and that of the Army in *England* was look'd upon as Tyrannical, designing to set up *Cromwel's* Usurpation again, and to restore the Protectorship, unless vigorously oppos'd.

His Answer to the
Committee.

This Resolution being fix'd, *Monk* writ to the Committee, and particularly to *Fleetwood*, to acquaint them, he had receiv'd the Treaty, and desir'd nothing but a good and well-grounded Peace; but that in the said Treaty, there were some Articles which could not establish such a Peace, unless they were better explain'd; that he demanded that Explanation, in the Name of all

all his Army, and to that Purpose they should appoint a Place, where they might canvas the Matter with freedom; that in the mean while, to prevent loss of Time, he would march on, with his Army, to the end he might be near enough to support the Laws, and the Publick Peace and Liberty. With these Letters to the Committee, the General sent others, to the Mayor and Common Council of *London*, to acquaint them, that as soon as he receiv'd the News of the Violence offer'd the Parliament by the Army, he had writ to the Magistrates of the City, and inform'd them of the Resolution that Attempt had made him take for delivering of *England* from Tyranny; that his Letter had been intercepted, but this would make amends; letting them know he persisted in that useful Design, and that he was resolv'd to draw near them, to put it in Execution; that he desir'd their Assistance, and pray'd them to hasten the Succours he promis'd himself from their Zeal, and assure themselves of his for the Preservation of their Tranquility, Liberty and Religion.

These Letters were follow'd by Declarations, and several other Papers, artfully contriv'd to inform, and persuade the Publick of the General's Sincerity he express'd for supporting of the Parliament, the Commonwealth, and the Liberty of *England*, against the Tyranny of the Army in *London*. At the same Time he march'd forward, and having taken a Review of his Army at *Haddington*, and visited *Dunbar*, and other Places of moment on that Coast, he advanc'd to *Berwick*, and thence to *Coldstream*, on the *Scotch* Side of the *Tweed*, which there parts *England* and *Scotland*.

Lambert, who still lay at *Newcastle*, was pleas'd to see his Rival advance, being resolv'd to fight him, when they were both inform'd, that the Committee consented to a farther Negotiation, in order to explain the Treaty concluded at *London*. *Monk's* March, the Intrigues of the old Parliament for returning to the Helm of government, since *Monk* had declar'd himself the Avenger of the Wrong done them; and the Divisions in the *English* Army had daunted *Fleetwood* and that Faction, who seeing no Safety for themselves, but in appeasing the General, had resolv'd to give him Satisfaction, imagining, in all likelyhood, it might be done by softning the

And Let-
ters to the
City.

He advan-
ces to Ber-
wick.

Lam-
bert's and
the Com-
mittee's
Views.

the Articles of the Treaty, without altering any thing that was essential. *Lambert* flatter'd himself, that whether by the Ratification of the Treaty the English Army remain'd possess'd of the Government, or whether the said Treaty breaking off they must come to a Battel, still those were only two different Ways to bring him to the intended End. Thus he permitted the Deputies of the Committee to treat with those appointed by *Monk*.

Conferen-
ces re-
new'd.

Alnwick, a Place almost equally distant from the two Armies, was appointed for the Conferences, and the Generals agreed, that till the Treaty were ratify'd, or broke up, the Troops should make no Motion to advance towards one another. *Lambert* had no mind to observe that Condition, and was not long without Pretences to break it. No sooner had they agreed, but he sent a flying Army to seize *Wake Castle*, in the County of *Northumberland*, on the Bank of the *Tweed*, opposite to *Coldstream*, where *Monk* was. Some say, he intended by that Means to bring him to a Battel; others pretend his Design was to draw him into an Ambush; and some Authors tell us they came to Blows, and the General of the *Scots* Army had the Advantage. There being no Account of these Particulars in the Life, or rather the *Panegyrick* *Monk's* Chaplain writ for the Honour of his Patron's Memory, that Author assuring us he then march'd with him; I hold to what he delivers, which is, that *Monk* knew how to curb his Adversary's Flights, without engaging. I find it in other Memoirs, that he was very careful to avoid it, as foreseeing by the good News constantly brought him from *Ireland*, *London*, and other Parts, that he should ruin him without fighting.

Advanta-
ges that
accrue to
Monk.

It fell out as he expected. During the six Weeks *Monk* continu'd in his Camp at *Coldstream*, whilst the Commissioners at *Alnwick*, being either more faithful or able than those had been at *London*, still went on with a Design to do nothing; the two Armies receiv'd four or five Pieces of News one upon the Neck of another, which decided all Points in favour of *Monk* and his *Coldstreamers*; so the Army of *Scotland* was call'd on account of its long Stay at *Coldstream*. The first Piece of News was, that *Ireland* had declar'd for him; that the Earls of *Orrery* and *Monmouth*, *Theophilus Jones*, the *Warrent*, all the *Ormond* Family and Party, tho' himself was then absent,



absent, had prevail'd over those who would have engag'd the Nation to embrace the opposite Faction, and secur'd many of them, that they might be in no Condition to raise any Disturbance for the Army in England.

The first Emotions of Joy rais'd in the Scots Army by this happy Success were not yet over, when they were inform'd, that *Lampson* with the Fleet, *Hastlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morlay* had secur'd *Portsmouth*, and declar'd for *Monk*; and that *Fleetwood* and the Committee having sent thither a Detachment of the Troops left at *London*, those very Forces had join'd *Hastlerig* and his Party; that after this the old Parliament, which since *Monk* and his Party declar'd for them, had been intriguing to meet again and take upon them the Management of Affairs, had sent to *Fleetwood* to demand the Keys of *Westminster*, and re-seating themselves, began to exercise their Jurisdiction, by appointing new Commissioners to command that part of the Army which was still in *London*.

So many fortunate Adventures encourag'd *Monk* to prosecute his Design, and the last of them cut off all the Difficulty that might be occasion'd by the Treaty still held at *Alnwick*. As soon as ever the News of it was brought to him, he sent to acquaint *Lambert*, that the Alteration made in the Command of the *English Army* would not permit him to proceed any farther, or continue a Treaty, which ceas'd to be of any Authority, since the Power of those in whose Name it was carry'd on had ceased; that since the Parliament had reassum'd the Exercise of its Authority, he was resolv'd to own them, as he had express'd in his Declarations; that he was leaving *Scotland*, to support them against the Usurpers of that Authority granted by the Laws of the Nation to a Council so advantageous, and always so zealous for preserving the Liberties and Immunities of the Nation; that he therefore recall'd his Commissioners sent to *Alnwick*, and was preparing to march directly for *London*, by his Presence, and with the Assistance of the Forces the Commonwealth had entrusted him with, to support the Civil Government, grounded upon right Reason, and the Laws, against the Martial, which could be look'd upon no otherwise than as a Tyrannical Anarchy.

His Mess.
sage to
Lambert

It is easy to imagine how disagreeable this Message was to *Lambert*. As skilful as he was at Disimulation, he

Corrupts
his Forces

1659. he could not forbear, striking his Breast in a Passion, to say, *Monk does not use me well.* He talk'd little, and thought much. Tho' so few Words fell from him, he had deep Designs of Revenge, and there is no question but that he then resolv'd to march against *Monk*, and by Force to make good the Breaches Management and Policy had made in his Fortune. He had a fine Army much more numerous than his Adversaries, and tho' many of them were new rais'd Forces, not so well disciplin'd, or enur'd to Hardships as those of the *Scots* Army, yet had he Veterans enough to sustain, and give them a good Example. He was in a good Condition to fight, and had Cause to hope for Victory, when he perceiv'd that most of his Forces were gain'd by *Monk*, who having understood that *Lambert* endeavour'd to debauch his Soldiers, had opportunely caus'd some Sums of Money to be distributed among his, which had dispos'd them to forsake him. At the same Time the unfortunate General was inform'd, that all the Counties about *Newcastle*, where he was, offer'd their Forces to his Rival; that *Fairfax*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and several Lords were in Arms at *York*, for the same Party; and to compleat his Misfortune, that even those, who had supported his Faction, till then, in the Army and in the City of *London*, either withdrew, or began to waver. Upon this News brought him by *Salmon*, one of his Friends, *Lambert* thinking he might find those Supporters at *London*, which he had not elsewhere, stole away silently out of *Newcastle*, and after some Days spent about *York*, unknown, took Post and went away to *London*. There, instead of finding his Faction wavering, and his Friends in Confusion, as he expected; he found his Party so intirely ruin'd, and his Confidants so dispers'd, that upon his first Arrival he was committed to the Tower by Order of the Parliament, none offering to oppose it, or he, as bold as he was, to stand upon his Defence.

1659. Whilst *Lambert* was running on to Ruin, *Monk* enter'd England to make his Advantage of it, and march'd towards *London*. He pass'd the *Tweed*, and came to *Wellar* on the first of January, 1659. As soon as there he receiv'd a Letter from the Parliament, with News he had heard before; which were, that they had met again, and re-assum'd the Government, taking it out of *Lam*

The Parliament writes to him.

Lambert's Hands, and that the same Express who brought that Advice to the *Coldstream* Forces, carried Orders to those at *Newcastle* to take up their Quarters in the Places assign'd them. The Parliament's Letter was full of Thanks to the General for having sided with the Civil Government against the Military; but those who look'd narrowly into it, observ'd that those Thanks were faint, and believ'd that Assembly fear'd *Monk* more than they lov'd him.

In short, whatsoever Pains that General took to be thought a Republican; those Regicides, who dreaded to see the Son of the King they had murder'd, on the Throne, could not rid themselves of the Apprehension they had conceiv'd of the *Scots* Army restoring him. It is not therefore to be question'd, but that could they have been assur'd of the Obedience of the *English* Army, they would have declar'd as openly against *Monk*, as he insincerely declar'd for them. But besides that the small Remains of that Army still left about *London* comply'd with their Orders in such manner, that they could lay no Stress upon their Obedience; the City was entirely against them, and was contriving something that would more than balance their Force.

Since *Monk* had enter'd upon the Design of restoring the King, the Partisans of them both had manag'd their Business so well, that they had made most of the People and Magistrates of that Capital, Royalists. They wrought several Ways towards the same End. *Monk's* Emissaries took special Care to conceal their Correspondence with him, and acted not in his Name, to avoid bringing him in Danger of being convicted by the Parliament, for corresponding with his Majesty, and by that Means giving the Republicans, the Army, and *Lambert's* Faction an Opportunity of recruiting, which would infallibly have hap'n'd had they declar'd before it was Time. Those Enterprizes which advance no faster than so as they may be conceal'd, close cover'd, and convey'd by compassing about, are always slow, but sure. Such were the Methods *Monk's* Agents took to succeed at *London*, in bringing that City over to the King's Interest. Their Business requir'd Time, Patience, Dissimulation, and Application; but at last they succeeded so far as to form such a Party for their Prince among the Magistrates, the Citizens, the Apprentices,

1652.


and the People of that great Capital, as was able to oppose the Parliament, and by that Means forward the Success of the General's Enterprize for restoring of the Monarch. The most unaccountable thing in it was, that most of those who were gain'd over to that Party, being ignorant that *Monk* knew any thing of the Application made to them, and apprehensive of the Severity he practis'd towards the Royalists, were as jealous of him as the Republicans, and their Notions being much the same, their Conduct in regard of him was alike.

*The City
demands a
Free-Parliament.*

Thus was *Monk* call'd upon to assist two Parties, both of which suspected his Aversion to them, and yet Necessity oblig'd them to have Recourse to him; for their Discontents grew so high, as gave Occasion to fear they would prove fatal to that Side which fell undermost. The City had begun to demand a Free Parliament, and some Time after explaining that indefinite Expression, had demanded to have the Members seclud'd in the Year 1648 immediately restor'd; whereupon Twenty Five of the boldest of those Members offering to take their Places in the House, they had been rejected. The Parliament was cautious of admitting them, because they had been excluded only for favouring the King; but the City contending for that very Reason to have them admitted, the Controversy ran so high, that those two Factions fearing the worst from one another, us'd all their Endeavours on both Sides to secure *Monk* to their Interest. Both sent to desire him to hasten his March, which had been very slow till then, the General being resolv'd to be thoroughly inform'd of what was doing at London, before he engag'd himself there. *Scot* and *Robinson*, the Parliament Deputies, pretending to take it for granted, that *Monk's* Declaration in Favour of that Assembly had been sincere, and without any Fallacy, tho' at the same Time they suspected the contrary, press'd him to go finish the Work he had began, and employ his Forces in supporting the Authority of the Great Council of the Nation, which that General himself, notwithstanding all his Evasions, had acknowledg'd. The City Deputies did not refuse to submit to a Superior Authority, and own'd the Parliament as such; but they would have a Free and Full Parliament, according to the ancient Laws and Cu-

*City and
Parliament
court
Monk.*

from

from of the Nation, and affirm'd that the Assembly which had so long usurp'd that Name, could not be look'd upon as a true *English* Parliament, till such Time as those Members were recall'd, that compos'd it at the Time when first call'd.

Nothing could have hap'n'd more favourable to *Monk's* Design, than that hasty Contest, the main Motive whereof, which he was no Stranger to, assured him of the Capital, and that in *England*, where there are few other considerable Cities, is a greater Advantage than in other Nations, to draw the rest of the Kingdom into the Party it espouses. Any other Man, who had not so great a Command of himself, would have discover'd his Thoughts to those who prevented him by such forward Actions; and some have taken Occasion from the General's Silence upon that Occasion to suspect, or raise a Jealousy of his good Intentions towards the King. They never consider'd, that *Monk* had the same Reasons to dissemble till he came to *London*, as before. The Parliament, the Fleet under *Lawson*, the Part of the old Army that had gone in to *Hastlerig*, those that remain'd still in *London*, and in short most of those who either fear'd the King's Restoration, or were for a Commonwealth, being in a Condition to re-unite, and if not absolutely to obstruct, at least to retard and endanger an Affair which could not be carry'd on with too much Security, nor too soon compleated. For these Reasons *Monk* gave such Answers to the Deputies of both Factions, that they could not dive into his Designs. He promis'd each of them to be mindful of their Interests; and his own requiring, that he should rather endeavour to amuse those that could hurt him, than to gain those who were already dispos'd to serve him; he always in Publick, and upon Solemn Occasions gave the Advantage to the Parliament Deputies, and express'd the Regard he pretended to have for them by the Word Submission.

He keeps in fair with both.

The General still continuing that Politick Behaviour march'd into *London*, at the Head of his Army, in the Beginning of *February*, and went to lodge at *Whitehall*, whilst his Forces were quarter'd as had been agreed between him and the Magistrates. He had not been long in the City, before, upon a View of the Place, he perceiv'd, that the Dissimulation he had practis'd till then,

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was more necessary than ever, and that he could not abate any thing of it, without hazarding the whole Success of his Enterprize. He had great Reason to be of that Opinion. In the first place, the King's Party was not as yet well united into a Body, and sufficiently divided from the confus'd Chaos of the several Factions that distracted the Nation; the Loyal Families being scarce free from some Republican, who kept the others in awe, and hinder'd their Declaring. Secondly, the Army in *London* was generally averse to the King, for its own Interest; that is, for their Safety, having Cause to fear lest the Son should revenge the Father; for their Fortunes, in securing what they had got, most of the Officers that commanded it having some Part of what was taken from the Royal Family, which could not be restor'd without stripping them. Besides all this, the Wise General perceiv'd, he should only need to give the Parliament and the City Time to heighten their Discontents, to furnish himself with an infallible Method for cutting off the King's greatest Enemies at one Stroke, and putting his Friends into a Condition to be able to declare for him. For these Reasons *Monk* still persisted in concealing his Desigas, after he was come to *London*. The Event has shown, which of the two made the rightest Judgment, whether he, or they that accus'd him of being two flow.

His Arts.

One of the best Qualities belonging to that great Genius, was to be little concern'd at what might be said, so he did what he thought was his Duty. Having fix'd this for his Rule, he proceeded in his former Method, declaring for the Commonwealth, and acting for the King; excluding Monarchical Government in all his Declarations, and keeping Emissaries in all Parts to advance the Restoring of the Monarch. He acted this Politick Part with so much Art and Capacity, that at the very Time he put in execution those Things the Republicans invented for the Destruction of the Royalists, he no ways lessen'd the Hopes his Friends gave the Royalists, that he would destroy the Republicans.

*Refuses to
abjure the
King.*

The Method he us'd to evade the Proposal made to him of abjuring the Royal Family, an Oath as I have before said he always abhor'd, was none of the least

Proofs

Proofs of his Wisdom, and excellent Conduct: No sooner was he come to *Whitehall*, but they tender'd him that wicked Oath, and press'd him to take it; but the General, who was always present to himself, answer'd without any Disorder, That many of those, who were most zealous for the Commonwealth, having refus'd to take that Oath, he was too great an Enemy to factious Partiality, either to reject or take it, till they were agreed upon some Act of Uniformity in that Case; that they might meet, debate, and conclude upon something that all Men would agree to; and he would be one of the first that should submit to such Ordinances as would settle Peace and Tranquility in the Nation. The Royalists look'd upon his Refusal, under the present Circumstances, as an infallible Testimony that *Monk* was for the honestest Side; the Republicans conceiv'd the less Jealousy at it, in regard, that the General going into the Parliament House, among other Things he there propos'd for the Publick Good, in a long Speech he made, did not forget, as was then us'd in all Harangues relating to the Government, to mention the Exclusion of Monarchy, Protectorship, and all Authority residing in a Single Person.

Another Art he dexterously made use of in that Speech, much advanc'd the Design he had of putting the Parliament upon provoking the City, that the City might be afterwards useful to him towards destroying of the Parliament. The City was so incens'd against that Assembly of Tyrants, who usurp'd an Authority, which had no other Foundation but their Crimes; that they had resolv'd not to pay any Tax impos'd to supply the Publick Wants, unless the Parliament, whose Authority to raise them they did not question, were as it ought to be, free, and full. The Parliament sought how to cause their Ordinances to be obey'd, and to subdue those they believ'd ought to submit to them. The Speech *Monk* made in that Assembly, the first Time he went thither, having been deliver'd when Things were in this Posture, he took care in it to insinuate, that having been courted on his March by Petitions from several Communities, sometimes to give the Nation a Free-Parliament, and otherwhiles to oblige those that were sitting to re-call the Members excluded in the Year 1648, he had always answer'd, They could have no freer Parliament

*Parliament
and City at
variance.*

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liament than that in being, to whom the Matter of the excluded Members ought to be referr'd.

*Takes a-
way the
City Gates
and Chains.*

The Parliament suffer'd themselves to be deluded by those Tokens of Submission, and being earnest to make their Advantage of the good Disposition *Monk* was in for giving a blind Obedience to all the Commands of that Assembly, they gave him suitable Orders to the several Ends they drove at. For their only View in obliging *Monk* to affront the City was not the Reducing and Subduing of that Place; but, following the same Policy he us'd towards them, they thought to make him odious to the People, either in order to ruin, or to engage him to bind up his Fortune to theirs. He knew better how to avoid the Snare they laid for him, than they to disintangle themselves for that he provided for them. They strictly enjoyn'd him to chastize the City, which blew up into a Flame the Publick Hatred long since kindled against them; and he executed his Orders so dexterously, that no Man was offended at him. Those Orders were, that the City Posts, Chains, and Gates should be taken away, and several of the Prime Citizens committed to Goal. *Monk* did all this, but after such a manner, that all those who did not understand the Mystery thought it had been with an ill Will, and those who knew more conceiv'd fresh Hopes of his performing those Promises, which had been made to them in private.

*Gains
Friends by
it.*

The Chief Officers of *Monk's* Army, had refus'd to execute those arbitrary Commands, but the Inferior obey'd; the Behaviour of both had equally a good Effect, the Refusal of the former having gain'd the Affection of all the Citizens, and the Obedience of the latter being attended by so many outward Signs of Regret, that none were offended at it. The General himself, from Time to Time, would let fall some Words, implying, That he executed the Orders of the City's Enemies, that he might the better serve them as a Friend. *I must obey, said he, but all this will be for the better.*

*His Words
with Mor-
ley about
it.*

The Meaning of those doubtful Expressions began to clear up, when the General having sent to acquaint the Parliament, that he did not think it fit to burn the City Gates, and was of Opinion they had done enough, receiv'd fresh Orders to perform all that had been enjoyn'd him,

him. He obey'd; but the Indignation of the Officers and Inhabitants growing hotter against those New Tyrants; *Morley*, the Lieutenant of the Tower, came to *Monk*, and tho' himself one of the Principal Members of the Parliament, complain'd to that General of the violent Proceedings of that Assembly against the City. *It is very true*, said *Monk*, *that those Gentlemen are somewhat hasty. This is a dangerous Way of Proceeding, and methinks I see the People almost reduc'd to that Despair, which Governours ought always to be afraid of, tho' the Power be in their Hands. For my part I only obey my Orders: Morley* transported with Passion, and laying himself open to *Monk*, interrupting him, reply'd, *It is Time you should command, or rather it is high Time for you to execute the good Designs you have for curbing the Insolence of those who govern ill. Begin; I put the Tower into your Hands. My Brother, Sir—Fagg, and I, have each of us a Regiment, both of them now actually in London. We are yours; we will stand by you; you may rely upon us.*

This Discourse ended in such a Combination between them two, as was in reality the first Stroke towards pulling down the Parliament, and restoring the Monarchy. No sooner was *Morley* gone from *Monk*, but the Officers of the Army came in, and accosting him in an angry manner, began their Discourse by inveighing bitterly against the Tyranny exercis'd over the Nation by a small Number of Men, who had wrongfully assum'd the Name of a Parliament. The Conclusion of that Railing was, that they must not only be curb'd, but absolutely dispossest of the Authority they had so unjustly usurp'd; that there ought to be a Free-Parliament, conven'd according to Law; that they might all together agree upon a settled Form of Government, which might no more be disturb'd by restless, or ambitious Spirits; that the General was bound in Honour and Conscience, after so many Protections made of his seeking nothing but the Publick Interest and Peace, to take in Hand that Common Cause of the Three Nations, which compos'd the Body of the *British* State; that it was high Time he should do so, and to show he was come upon another Design than to execute the unjust Commands of a Gang of Tyrants, who were abhorr'd by all Men.

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He agrees
with them
to call a
Free-Par-
liament.

This Remonstrance found *Monk* perfectly dispos'd to have its intended Effect. He was as much incens'd against the Parliament as his Officers, tho' he carry'd it more calmly; he perceiv'd, as they told him, that all Things conspir'd to ruin that Assembly he intended to destroy, and to call another, which he could have made up of such Members as he lik'd; being essential Steps towards restoring of the King, and almost the only ones then wanting. The Nobility, the City of *London*, and most of the Countries being eagerly bent upon it; and the Army of *Scotland* dispos'd to obey its General's Orders, without Reserve. There were still some Republicans with Forces under *Hastlerie*, who had brought them back from *Portsmouth*. The Incendiary *Vane* still acted after his furious manner against the King's Interest, and some Regiments of the old Army that stuck by him; but, besides that those two Men had quite different Views, the General knew that their Forces, tho' united, could make no Opposition against so many great Bodies, as had declar'd they would follow the Way he should lead. Having set his Resolution upon these Considerations, the General agreed with his Officers, that without any farther Delay, the very next Day two of them should carry the Parliament a Letter, which he left them to contrive, and wherein it should be demanded in his, and the Name of the Army, that the said Parliament should be dissolv'd, and another call'd, which should be Free and Full, as the Laws directed.

Sends to
the Rump.

The Letter being sign'd the next Morning by the General, and Officers, was sent to the Parliament. *Lidcot* and *Globery*, who carry'd it, were directed to tell the House, that *Monk* expected their Answer at *Allen's*, the Mayor of *London*.

Goes away
into the
City.

The Visit and the General's Letter found very different Receptions. The Mayor did *Monk* all the Honour, and entertain'd him in the best manner he was able, and agreed with him to restore the City Common-Council, which had been abolish'd by the *Rump*; that they would call them together to *Guild-Hall*, and would there come to such Resolutions as should be most agreeable to the present Circumstances. The Joy the General's Visit occasion'd in the City was not greater than the Consternation his Letter produc'd in the Parliament. However that Assembly being compos'd of Men well enur'd to

Busi-

Business, were not so much surpriz'd upon that Occasion, but that they had recourse to a most refin'd, and subtle Piece of Policy. For being convinc'd, on the one Hand, that *Monk* was like to have all the Power, they spar'd no Pains in private, to appease, to gain, and to put him in hopes, that they would entirely devote themselves to him, without any Exception, but only the Restoring of the King and Kingly Government. On the other Side, concluding that nothing but Jealousy of Command, could weaken the Power of a Man in such mighty Reputation, they pass'd an Ordinance to put the Command of all the Forces in the Nation into six Commissioners, of which Number he was one, that he might have no Cause to complain, and the others be strong enough to curb his Power.

Those who do *Monk* the Wrong to say he had no Design at first to restore the King, alledge it was this Ordinance, and the Offence he took at it, that made him come to such a Resolution. I will not now stop to defeat that Conjecture, which is as malicious as improbable, as appears by all I have said. *Gumble*, the Minister, on the contrary pretends, that at the same Time some powerful Parties offer'd to joyn *Monk*, in order to raise him to the Sovereign Power, in the same manner as it had been exercis'd by *Cromwel*, and that he rejected the Proposal. I mistrust this Account less than the other; yet do I not so much rely upon it, as if it had been told by some other, who might be less liable to Suspicion of magnifying, than a Menial Servant who was oblig'd to his Master. However that was, *Monk* then began to dispose Affairs for the King's Return, in such manner as gave Ground to foresee he was not far off; and that for the future, it would not meet with any Obstacles but what were easy to be overcome. This was not at all question'd after the Conference in *Guild-Hall*, where the Business was concerted, and the General, tho' not in positive Terms, spoke plain enough, to show he was of the same Mind, and had the same Designs as the City, in that Particular. The Acclamations of the People that encompass'd the Hall, whilst they sat within, and were convinc'd they were then taking the last Measures for perfecting that Affair; the Bonfires made at Night in the Streets and publick Places; the Curses every where stow'd on the Parliament, and the Liberty the Citizens

Apology
for Monk;

Rejoicing
in the City.

1642.

*Secluded
Members
restor'd.*

zens took in all Companies to drink the King's Health, confirm'd all Men in that Opinion. But no Man could any longer have Cause to doubt of the Nearness of that surprizing Revolution, when they saw *Monk*, who had now nothing to oppose him, restore the Members secluded in the Year 1648 to the Parliament, and re-unite them to those that had turn'd them out. That Re-union produc'd two good Effects the General had expected; the one was, that those Secluded Members prevailing above the others, caus'd him to be declar'd Generalissimo of all the Land Forces in the Three Kingdoms, the Command of the Fleet having been given to *Montague*, afterwards created Earl of *Sandwich*, who had been long a profess'd Royalist. The other good Effect of that Re-union was the speedy Dissolution of the Parliament, which the fitting Members endeavour'd to have perpetuated. The Post of Generalissimo put *Monk* into a Condition to make an advantageous Reformation among the Forces, to put the *English* Army out of Capacity of doing him any Harm, and his own into a better Disposition to serve him. The Dissolution of the Parliament gain'd him Time to form a New One, altogether favourable to the King, which was appointed to meet in *May*.

*Overton
brought
over.*

Monk was not so wholly intent upon those Things that were nearest to him; as to neglect those that were further off. At the same Time he dispos'd the Parliament and Army in the City towards the Restoring of the King, he secur'd the Countries, the Strong Holds, the Militia, and above all the Nobility. The Western Counties gave him no Trouble, but he had *Overton* to gain in the North, who was Master of *Hull*. However he compass'd it, by the Assistance of *Alured* and *Smith*, who manag'd the Point so well, that they prevail'd on that obstinate Republican to submit to the General, deliver up that Strong Hold, and repair to him.

*The King
at the Py-
renean
Treaty.*

Whilst *Monk* proceeded in this manner, the King considering his Motions, did not question but they would end in a happy Revolution. He was return'd into *Flanders*, after having taken a Journey to the Place of Congress, where the Peace was concerted between *France* and *Spain*. That Peace was concluded without any Advantage to King *Charles*, but some Promises, which



which they were not in a Condition soon to perform. *Don Lewis de Haro* had given him an honourable Reception, and express'd a Desire to serve him; Cardinal *Mazarine* had made his Excuse for not seeing him, alledging he did it to be the better able to serve him. Both of them design'd it; but it was requisite the Kings their Masters, after such a long War, should have Time to furnish the *English* Monarch with the necessary Succours for his Restoration. In this Posture of Affairs King *Charles* saw no Support so sure as *Monk's*. Too many Overt Acts convinc'd him of that General's labouring for him, not to be full of Hopes upon all the News he daily receiv'd of his Preparations and Proceedings; but he could have wish'd, as many others did, that he had been more expeditious, and come at last to the finishing Stroke.

Being thus impatient, after so long waiting for the unravelling of that Affair, he resolv'd to hasten him, and sent the Loyal Sir *John Greenvil*, to desire the General to finish a Work so worthy of himself. The Letter he sent him, was full of Expressions of Esteem, of Affection, and of the Confidence he repos'd in a Man, from whom, tho' a King, he expected more than he was able to return. The Offers *Greenvil* made in his Name, in favour of all those who might have Cause to fear the Restoration of an Affronted, Banish'd, and Out-law'd King, were of such a Nature as might secure the most mistrustful Minds, and satisfy those who were deepest concern'd in Point of Interest. Thus the General had the Satisfaction to perceive, that what he was doing would be to the good Liking and Advantage of all Men.

Encourag'd by this fresh Motive, *Monk* at last explaining himself to *Greenvil*, told him, He might assure the King, he was wholly in his Interest; that he would restore him or fall by it; and that the dreadful Difficulties he had met with in that Undertaking had been the Occasion of that Delay; that they should speedily see the Conclusion of it; but that the Affair in Hand was so very ticklish, that there could never be too much Precaution us'd in it. He added, he begg'd his Majesty would not find Fault that he did not yet write to him, and farther intreated him to keep what he said very secret for some Time. Then coming to what he thought fit

1660.



fit the King should do, to render the Restoration agreeable to the People, he charg'd *Greenvil* to tell him, he advis'd his Majesty, at his Return to begin, by granting of Liberty of Conscience throughout the Kingdom; an Act of Oblivion for all that was past, and a Confirmation of Publick Sales; and to convince him, that the Business was not far from a Conclusion, he advis'd him immediately to withdraw out of the Dominions of *Spain*, lest that Crown, which laid hold of all Advantages, might exact some Terms contrary to what he propos'd for suffering of him to depart.

*The King's
and
Monk's
Satisfac-
tion.*

It is easy to guess how well the King was pleas'd with *Greenvil's* Account, when he return'd into *Flanders*. *Monk* was no less satisfy'd on his Side, to see himself so near succeeding in the most glorious Enterprize *Europe* had long beheld, when an unexpected Accident somewhat disturb'd his pleasing Hopes.

*Lambert
escapes out
of the
Tower.*

Lambert, whose Ambition was not cut off by his Imprisonment, was inform'd in the Tower of *London* of his Rival's Success, which render'd that Melancholy Abode the more disagreeable to him. Envy prevailing on that fierce, and intractable Genius, as he saw *Monk's* Authority increase; he could not behold him upon the Point of being himself absolute, or of restoring him that was rightfully so, without once more making an extraordinary Effort to thwart them both. That new Provocation made him ingenious to find Means to shake off his Fetters, and make his Escape out of Prison. *Monk* was surpriz'd, when he heard, that he had been seen with his Friends in the City, that he had tamper'd with the Army, and that having fail'd of corrupting it, he was gone away into the *North*, where having debauch'd some Companies of the Garrisons in those Quarters, he was already at the Head of a Body of Men, which increas'd daily.

*Is defea-
ted and
taken.*

Monk's Celerity was wonderful in a Man so overburden'd with Business, and naturally slow. He was ready to take the Field, with his Army, in order to pursue *Lambert*, and fight him, when the News was brought him of that Fugitive's being no longer in a Condition to hurt him. The General had been so discreet as to send before, the Brigades of *Ingoldsby* and *Streeter*, under those two Colonels; who march'd with such Expedition, that they came up with *Lambert* beyond *Dar-*
ventry,

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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entry, at the same Time that *Philip Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Carlisle*, posted himself with another Body, in a Place proper to prevent other Rebels from joyning their Chief. Those two little Armies observ'd one another a considerable Time, after they were in sight, before they engag'd. *Lambert* seem'd to be unsettled, and it was suppos'd, by the Spies he sent before, under Colour of Treating, that he had no good Account of his Enemies Forces. *Ingoldsby* was sensible of the Design, and would not suffer any of his Men to advance to speak to them. He discours'd them himself, without discovering who he was, and the Interview coming to nothing; he caus'd his Troops to advance briskly, charging the Rebels so Successfully, that they were routed, and *Lambert* retaken, whom he carry'd back in Triumph to *London*, where *Monk*, who was ready to set out, return'd him to the Tower, well pleas'd that he had been sav'd the Trouble of an Expedition, which would have retarded the Conclusion of the Business he was bringing to a Period. This Accident secur'd the Success of it. The Parliament meeting at that Time, enter'd upon no other Debate, but how they should receive the King. It is very remarkable, that most of those, who had been his greatest Enemies express'd the greatest Zeal for his Honourable Reception, and had it depended only on those, who till then had been the most violent against Monarchical Government, *Charles* the Second would have had the Honour of restoring the Crown of *England* to its ancient Prerogatives. It is reported, that Chancellor *Hyde*, being led by that *English* Spirit, which is always jealous of the Liberty of the Nation, did not let that Prince see all the Advantages he might reap from that good Disposition of the Minds of the People. Some also say, that *Monk* himself was not altogether free from that inveterate Passion, and that he, as well as *Hyde*, contriv'd, to circumscribe the Royal Authority within those Bounds set to it by that they falsely call the Liberties of the Nation. Bating that Point, nothing was omitted, that might express the utmost Zeal for his Majesty's Restoration, and he could wish no more to make his happy Return agreeable.

The Parliament declares for the King.

The Parliament meeting in the Two Houses, according to ancient Custom, *Greenvil*, who was come again to *London* for that Purpose, repair'd to *Westminster* with them.

the

The History of the Revolutions in England,

the King's Letters for that Assembly. The Substance of them was, that his Majesty had rather chose to expect his Restoration from the Affections of his good Subjects, than from the Succours offer'd him on all Hands by Foreign Potentates; that Experience had sufficiently shown what Success might be expected towards settling of the publick Peace, from the Attempts the Spirit of Rebellion puts Turbulent Persons upon against the Legal Authority; that altho' Heaven had permitted those who had attack'd it in *England* to gain all the Advantages over it that the most unbounded Ambition could wish, yet Providence had confounded, and involv'd them yet deeper than others in those Calamities they had brought upon the Nation; that it only remain'd the Parliament should restore Things to their natural Channel, and take to themselves the Honour of being Mediators between the Sovereign and the People; that he sent them a Declaration which he hop'd would be Satisfactory, and to which he was ready to add whatsoever they should think proper for the Security of those concern'd. This Letter was heard with Respect, and was first answer'd with a confus'd Hum of Approbation, which was redoubled upon the reading of the Declaration as follows.

His Majesty's Gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects.

CHARLES R.

His Majesty's Declaration. "CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the General Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awake all Men to a Desire and Longing, that those Wounds which have so many Years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all We can say will be to no Purpose. However after this long Silence, We have thought it Our Duty to declare, how much We desire to contribute thereunto. And that as We can never give over the Hope in good Time to obtain the Possession of that Right, which God and Nature have made Our Due; so We

" do

"do make it Our Daily Suit to the Divine Providence,
"that He will, in Compassion to Us and Our Subjects,
"after so long Misery and Sufferings, Remit, and put
"Us into a quiet Possession of that Our Right, with as
"little Blood and Damage to Our People as is possible:
"Nor do We desire more to Enjoy what is Ours, than
"that all Our Subjects may Enjoy what by Law is
"theirs, by a full and entire Administration of Justice
"throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy
"where it is wanted and deserv'd.

"And to the End that the Fear of Punishment may
"not engage any Conscious to themselves of what is
"past, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the Future, by
"opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country,
"in the Restoration both of *King, Peers and People*, to
"their Just, Ancient and Fundamental Rights, We do
"by these Presents declare, That We do grant a *Free*
"and *General Pardon*, which We are ready, upon De-
"mand, to pass under Our Great Seal of *England*, to
"all Our Subjects of what Degree and Quality soever;
"who within Forty Days after the Publishing hereof,
"shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and
"shall by any publick Act declare their doing so, and
"that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good
"Subjects; excepting only such Persons as shall here-
"after be excepted by *Parliament*. Those only excep-
"ted, let all Our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely up-
"on the Word of a King, solemnly given by this pre-
"sent Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever com-
"mitted against Us, or Our Royal Father, before the
"Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be
"brought in Question, against any of them, to the least
"Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liber-
"ties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our Power)
"so much as to the Prejudice of their Reputations, by
"any Reproach, or Term of Distinction from the rest
"of any of Our best Subjects; We Desiring and Or-
"daining, That henceforth all Notes of Discord, Sepa-
"ration, and Difference of Parties, be utterly abolish'd
"among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and con-
"jure to a perfect Union among themselves, under Our
"Protection, for the Re-settlement of Our Just Rights,
"and Theirs, in a *Free Parliament*, by which, upon
"the Word of a King, We will be advis'd.

" And

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“ And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of
 “ the Times have produc'd several Opinions in Religi-
 “ on, by which Men are engag'd in Parties and Ani-
 “ mosities against each other, which, when they shall
 “ hereafter arise in a Freedom of Conversation, will be
 “ compos'd, or better understood; We do declare a
 “ Liberty to Tender Consciences; And that no Man
 “ shall be disquieted or call'd in question for Diffe-
 “ rences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which
 “ do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and
 “ that We shall be ready to consent to such an *Act*
 “ of *Parliament*, as upon mature Deliberation shall
 “ be offer'd to Us, for the full granting that Indul-
 “ gence.

“ And because in the continu'd Distractions of so
 “ many Years, and so many and great Revolutions,
 “ many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been
 “ made to and by many Officers, Soldiers and o-
 “ thers, who are now possess'd of the same, and who
 “ may be liable to Actions at Law, upon several Ti-
 “ tles; We are likewise willing that all such Dif-
 “ ferences, and all Things relating to the said
 “ Grants, Sales, and Purchases, shall be deter-
 “ min'd in *Parliament*, which can best provide for
 “ the just Satisfaction of all Men, who are con-
 “ cern'd.

“ And We do further declare, That We will be
 “ ready to Consent to any *Act*, or *Acts of Parlia-*
 “ *ment* to the Purposes aforesaid; And for the full
 “ Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and
 “ Soldiers of the Army, under the Command of Ge-
 “ neral *Monk*, and that they shall be receiv'd into our
 “ Service upon as good Pay and Conditions as they
 “ now enjoy.

*Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet,
 at Our Court of Breda, this 14th Day of
 April, 1660, in the Twelfth Year of Our
 Reign.*

1660.

This Declaration having entirely dispos'd the Minds of Men to receive the King with Joy, *Clarges*, Brother-in-law to *Monk*, was sent away to assure that Prince of the Impatience wherewith his Majesty was expected to return to the Throne of his Ancestors. Not only the Parliament, but the City and Army writ Letters, expressing their entire Submission. Many Commissioners follow'd those Letters; *Fairfax* was one of that Number, and with him several others of *Cromwell's* most noted Adherents, who at this Time express'd more Forwardness for his Majesty's Restoration than any of his old Servants. They found him at the *Hague*, whither his Majesty was gone for Conveniency of Shipping. They were receiv'd in such Manner as convinc'd them, that the present Service blotted out the Memory of past Wrongs. Several Points were afterwards agreed on, wherein both Sides cut short all Difficulties by mutual Compliance. The King excepted some of those who were deepest engag'd in the Murder of his Father, from the Act of Oblivion; no Man seem'd unwilling to consent to it, and those Vile Miscreants at several Times receiv'd the Reward due to so great a Villany.

Messages to the King.

After these Remains of Melancholy Thoughts, they wholly apply'd themselves to celebrate the King's Return to his Kingdoms with all possible Expressions of Joy. This was begun at the *Hague*, where the States, Foreign Princes, and their Ministers, complimented the King; all Persons expressing a Zeal, which they had nothing of before he began to be fortunate.

Forreigners compliment him.

In the mean while he was proclaim'd at *London*, with such Shouts of Joy as eccho'd throughout all *England*. Nothing was thought of but the Preparations for his solemn Reception, and every Man coveted to have a Share in them. Many of the Prime Nobility went to the Sea Side to attend him at his Landing; General *Monk* was at the Head of them, on whom the People, all the Way he went, bestow'd Millions of Blessings, looking upon him as the Restorer of the Publick Peace, after so many Troubles. Another Spectacle drew all their Eyes to *Dover Road* on the 25th of *May*. *Montague*, who commanded the Fleet,

He lands in England.

1660.

Fleet, went to *Scheveling* for the King, four Days before, and return'd with his Majesty, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester a-board. They had a good Passage, the Fleet arriving late in 48 Hours, and restoring *England* to its former Splendour, together with its King. *Monk* receiv'd him on his Knees, but his Majesty raising embrac'd him, and from that Day, having created him Duke of *Albemarle*, never ceased loading him with Honours, Favours, and Acknowledgments, which that famous Man seem'd to be the more worthy of, in Regard his Zeal for his Sovereign had inspir'd him with an Activity which was not in his Nature, for when that Affair was over, he insensibly fell back into his own Temper. No two Men are more unlike one another, than was the Duke of *Albemarle* and General *Monk*. The General was Politick, Active, and had a Hand, and an Eye every where. The Duke leading an uniform Course of Life, Unactive, and free from Intrigue, seem'd to be Heavy, and had become Obscure, were it possible for Time to fully, or Oblivion to blot out the Lustre fix'd on him by the Glorious Action Phave last mention'd.

His Reception.

The City of *London* receiv'd his Majesty with all possible Magnificence. The Parliament gave him no Trouble, and seem'd so ready to consent to whatsoever he should demand, that Wise Men to this Day affirm, if he had known how to improve that Opportunity, he would without the least Opposition have put his own and the Peace of his Successors out of Danger of being disturb'd. A Person of Credit has told me, that he had it from the Earl of *Bath*, that *Alexander Popham*, a Man of Intrigue and great Capacity, offer'd the King, with the Assistance of a Party he had in the Parliament, to prevail on that Assembly to pass an Act for Settling on him and his Heirs for ever, Two Millions and Two Hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum, by way of Subsidy, which with the Revenue of Excise and other Duties, would have made him a rich Prince; that his Majesty had been well pleas'd with the Proposal; but that advising about it with *Hyde*, that Minister answer'd, That the best Revenue he could have would be the gaining the Hearts of his Subjects; that he

ough

ought to trust to them, and would find such Supplies as should never fail him at a Time of Need. If the Chancellor spoke as he thought, the Sequel of this History will make it appear, that wise Men do not always judge right. The King gave Credit to him, and his Moderation added to the Parliaments Complaisance. The Revolution ended in the Restoration of the Bishops, the Liturgy, and the Church of England, without any Opposition. Thus all Things were as they had been before. The King sometime after marry'd *Catherine, Infanta of Portugal*. He might have reign'd in Peace, could the Protestants have endur'd, that he who dy'd a Catholick, should show some Toleration to such of his Subjects as were so, and had they not gone about to oblige him to Disinherit his Successor, for being of a Religion he would willingly have profess'd himself; That new Leven of Revolutions concerns the Life of King James the Second, with which I design to conclude this History.

The End of the Second B O O K.

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THE

THE
HISTORY
 OF THE
Revolutions in England,
 UNDER THE
 Family of the **STUARTS, &c.**

BOOK III.

*The Turns and Changes in England
 during the Life and Reign of King
 JAMES the Second.*

*Introduc-
 tion.*

THere is one Fault hardly to be avoided in writing the History of England, which is, to introduce the extraordinary Events we are to Treat of, by saying, That tho' the Revolutions before mention'd have been surprizing, yet that which is to follow surpasses them all. The same Fault will be found in this Work, I own it, and do not stand corrected; because that Preamble suits not so well with the Life of any King of England as that of King James the Second, which is to conclude this History of Catastrophes in the British Monarchy. The Posture that Prince's Affairs are in at this Time had once made me re-

resolve to defer the Publishing of this Book, till they were in a more settled Condition; but so many Persons, with whom I am oblig'd to comply, have importun'd me to publish this remaining Part of *English History*, not yet compleatly handled by any Author in our Language, that I could no longer withstand them. I have been the more willing to comply, in Regard of the great Injustice I find in such Writings, as have appear'd abroad concerning this Revolution, most of them compos'd either by Sectaries, or inveterate Persecutors of a Catholick King, or unreasonable Flatterers of a Protestant Prince they made use of to destroy the other. I hope I shall avoid the Rock they have split on, and being justly charg'd with inveighing disrespectfully against the one, that I may meanly extol the other.

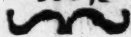
The Duke of York, since his Accession to the Crown call'd King James the Second, had employ'd his Youth in the continual Exercise of Arms. He had always apply'd himself to it, from the Age of Nine Years, when he was with his Father at *Edghil* Fight, till the Age of 27, when he return'd into *England* with his Brother. His Genius led him that Way. This was so evident, that a Man of Quality of our Country, having taken a Journey to *London* some Time after the Restoration of King *Charles*, among other judicious Remarks upon what he had seen, speaking of the Duke of York, declar'd, That tho' the said Prince's Interest ought to keep him to the Court, he rather chose to be in the Army, and that he valu'd any Opportunity of signaling his Courage above the greatest Political Advantages. This is both Commendable and Blame-worthy, I know not whether the Duke deserv'd the Blame, but all *Europe* was convinc'd that he was worthy of the Praise, and the Commendations given his Valour by the Prince of *Conde*, and *Mareschal Turenne*, those two great Masters of the Art of War, will remain his Eternal Monuments.

He gave fresh Proofs of it in the War the King his Brother declar'd against the States of *Holland*, in the Year 1665, and the Victory he gain'd over them at Sea show'd the Duke to be as good a Commander in Chief, as he had been Officer and Soldier. Two and Twenty of the Enemies Ships were then taken, burnt, or sunk by the *English*; *Opdam* the Dutch General perishing there

The Duke
of York of
a Martial
Temper.

1665:
Defeat
the Dutch.

1665.



there in his. That Fleet had been totally destroy'd, had not one *Bronkard* of the Dukes Bedchamber prevented the Execution of his Orders the very Night after the Victory. The Duke lay down to take a little Rest, after giving Orders to make all Sail, and keep up with the Remainder of the broken Navy. That Gentleman, who was none of those that value their Honour above their Life, told the Captain he was too lavish in exposing the Heir of the Crown, and counterfeited another Order from him for slack'ning Sail; which was unadvisedly done: He was disgrac'd, and the Parliament would have brought him to a Tryal; but he was discarded, and that Assembly, in the Name of all the Nation, made a Publick Acknowledgment to the Victor of the Service he had done the Kingdom, assigning him, by an Act still preserv'd among the Records, a Gratification of almost a Million and a Half.

*His great
Reputati-
on.*

1666.

This Victory having added new Lustre to the Duke of York, he was in the happiest and most agreeable Condition a Prince of his Degree could be. He had an establish'd Reputation, not only in *England*, where they look'd upon him, as the Support of the Nation; but throughout all *Europe*, where he was regarded as one of the Princes of his Time, who best maintain'd the Grandeur of his Birth by his Personal Merit. He enjoy'd most of the great Places of Profit and Honour; was Lord High Admiral of *England*, and Governour of the *Cinque Ports*, and of *Portsmouth*. He having Children, and the King none, abundance of People follow'd him, as the Heir to the Crown, which was to pass away to his Head and remain in his Family; and what made this the happier, the King was not Jealous of him. His Majesty being fully convinc'd of his Affection to him, look'd upon that Prince's Court as the most Loyal Part of his own, and thought he had no surer Friends than the Duke of York's. I am sensible some Politicians thought ill of it, and err'd with those, who to be thought to see farther into Mysteries of State than others do, report whatsoever they imagine, and not what really is. The Truth is, that the King never had any Jealousy of the Duke, and that the Duke from his Infancy ever behav'd himself so Submissively towards the King, that he had no Occasion to suspect him; a Thing very rare between two Brothers of that Rank, and in a Court so full of Rest-

less and Factions Spirits, as that of England has long been. By this it appears, that all Parties equally made Interest to the Duke of York, and that whatsoever Way he took the Balance inclin'd. In other Respects all Men being naturally convinc'd, that he was of an undaunted Spirit, and not likely to connive with such as should dare to declare themselves his Enemies, every one was afraid of provoking him, and none would venture to incur his Displeasure, much less his Aver- sion.

1667.

This was the Duke of York's Condition, and thus were Men's Minds dispos'd towards him; when a Jealousy spread abroad of his being a Catholick in his Heart, tho' he still outwardly appear'd as a Protestant, beginning to withdraw the Affections of Men from him, gave the first Shock to his Prosperity.

Suspected
to be a
Catholick.

That Jealousy was well grounded. The Duke was indeed a Catholick, and the Memory of his Conversion deserves to be preserv'd in History. Many have been of Opinion that his Mother's Zeal, her good Example and Instructions, he having always been very observant of her, were the Cause of that Change; and that his long conversing with Catholicks in France, Flanders, and other Places, had so back'd his first Thoughts, as at length to produce that Effect. But they have been deceiv'd in this Particular, as well as in many other Things, where for want of knowing the certain Truth Recourse is had to Probabilities. The same hap'n'd to the Duke of York which Sacred History informs us befel one of the Ancients, and was to find that which was to cure his Blindness, in the Gall of a Monster that would have devour'd him. For it was the reading the History of the pretended Reformation, written by a Protestant Author, which discover'd to that Prince the Error he had been born in. It was at Brussels, after his leaving France, when having leisure enough to read, he lighted upon Heslin's History. He read it with Attention, and plainly saw through all the Pretexes the Protestants use for justifying their Schism, that the said Separation, so opposite to the Maxim of Unity, whereon the Church is founded, had been the Product of Human Passions; that King Henry the VIIIth's Lust, the Duke of Somerset's Ambition, Queen Elizabeth's Policy, and the Avarice of those who had first possess'd themselves of the

His Con-
version.

1667.

Church Lands, had been the Occasions of that Change; wherein the Spirit of God had no Share. He knew God had always made use of Prophets, whose Lives were Holy, to guide and instruct his People, whensoever he was to signify his Will to them in Religious Matters; That upon the changing of the Law, the Gospel had been promulgated by the Apostles, supported by a Divine Virtue, and more like Angels than other Men; that upon every Relaxation hap'ning under both the Testaments, they were not Carnal, Revengeful, and Ambitious Men that preach'd up Reformation, but such as were full of the Spirit of *Moses*, or rather of *JESUS CHRIST*, the only Vehicles fit to convey the Waters flowing from those living Springs, that we may not suspect their being defil'd in their Passage to us. These rational Reflections open'd the Duke of *York's* Eyes; from that Time he became a Catholick in his Heart, and with this Disposition he return'd into *England* at the Restoration.

*At first**kept secret.*

Many weighty Reasons at first oblig'd him to conceal that Change from publick View; he trusted the King his Brother with the Secret, who commended him, but desir'd he would so far prevail upon himself as not to let it be known. This held for some Time, but could not last always. The Duke, insensibly growing heedless, and keeping a less Watch upon himself than he had done, gave others the Opportunity to observe him, and conclude, that he was not of the Religion of his Country. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and two of his Brethren reprov'd him; he had the Patience to hear, and did not refuse to Confer with them; but their Arguments were so far from shaking, or altering, that they rather confirm'd him in his Faith.

*The Dut-
chess con-
verted.*

After such Proceedings there was no more pretending to make a Secret of that Prince's Religion, all his Friends could do was to save its being too publickly known. His first Wife, Daughter to Chancellor *Hyde*, dying a Catholick, was look'd upon as an undeniable Testimony of her Husband's Religion. It was given out, that she had been Converted out of Complaisance to him, but it was false. The Dutchess, by a strange Accident was Converted upon reading the same Book that had wrought upon the Duke. How false soever that Report was, the Protestants would believe it, and that confirm'd

firm'd them, in the Opinion, that his Highness was no longer one of them. In short, soon after the Death of that Princess he abjur'd his Error, which he had not done till then, and return'd to the Faith of St. Edward, whose Crown he was to wear. From that time it plainly appear'd he lost the Affections of the Sectaries, and as their Love declin'd, so did their Esteem. Some of the Duke's Friends observing this Change, desir'd him to curb himself; the King his Brother urg'd him again, and all Men represented to him, that tho' it was no longer time for him to counterfeit what he was not, yet it was not convenient he should own what he was. He took this Advice, and this Contradiction to his own Inclination was the easier to him, in regard that an extraordinary Project gave him some Hopes of that Liberty he wish'd for.

In the Year 1670, the Court of England perceiving that the Republican Spirit was insensibly creeping into the Parliament again, meditated how to remedy that Evil, which foreboded many more. Five Lords were the Managers of that Design, who were call'd the *Cabal*, from the strict Union among them, as also because the first Letters of their Names put together made the Word *Cabal*. One of them was the King's Favourite, and the other four his Ministers, all of them in high Posts, and of great Interest in the Council. Each of those five Men singly was not without his Faults; but all put together, compos'd a Body, that wanted little to bring about the greatest Designs. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's Favourite, was very capable of being a Minister of State, had not his Mind, which was excellently endow'd, been drawn away from Business by a high Degree of Lewdness, and such an entire Resignation to his Pleasures, as made him trivial, tho' born as fit as any Man for solid Affairs. The Duke of *Lauderdale*, a Scot, and Secretary of State for that Kingdom, was a sharp-sighted Man, and refin'd Politician. The Lord Treasurer *Clifford* wanted nothing but a Stage, on which sound Reason and Virtue had been more in use than they were in his native Country, in his Age, to appear superior to the others. The Earl of *Arlington*, Secretary of State in England, had the least Genius of the five; but his Experience made amends, and had gain'd him great Knowledge in foreign Affairs. *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Earl

1670.
Cabinet
under K.
Charles.

Their Cha-
racters.

Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Lord Chancellor, a famous Actor in the foregoing Troubles of *England*, was the fittest of them to manage any great Undertaking, and the very Soul of this we now speak of. A mighty Genius, clear-sighted, bold, full of Intrigue, equally steady, whether on the right, or on the wrong Side, as long as those he adher'd to gave him no Occasion to change; a constant Friend, but an implacable Enemy, and the more dangerous, for that having no Regard to Religion and Conscience, it was the easier for him to contrive Mischief, as being no way daunted by the Multitude or Heinousness of any Crimes, provided he thought them necessary, either to preserve himself, or to destroy those that had incur'd his Hatred.

Their Designs for the King.

These Lords being link'd to their Master by their high Places and Favours receiv'd, could not without Indignation observe what Advances the Republican Spirit, which began to rouse again, had caus'd the Parliament to make against the Regal Authority. Among other Things, the Triple League, the Republican Cabal had prevail'd on the King to conclude against his own Inclination, appear'd to them as an audacious Incroachment on the Prerogative, the Consequences whereof were to be prevented. Upon these Grounds, they perswaded the King to be as absolute as the Crown, and the Laws of the Nation entitl'd him to be; to confine the Parliament to the Bounds prescrib'd them by immemorial Custom; and to take care that a Mixture of Commonwealth and Monarchy, introduc'd by Violence and the Subjects Usurpations on their Sovereign, did not produce a monstrous Anarchy, which might again bring *England* into the Danger of falling into that dreadful Confusion, it was scarce recover'd from.

Provocations from the Dutch.

To bring this about it was necessary to have a War, which might furnish the King with a Pretence to raise an Army; and this they had against the *Dutch*, being the more favourable, because the Honour and the Interest of the *English* Nation were equally concern'd; for the old Controversy about the Sovereignty of the Sea was renew'd, and the *East India* Merchants continually complain'd that they were insulted by the *Dutch*. This, I say, was the Pretence; but the true Reason for pitching upon this War rather than any other, was the strict Union between the *English* Republicans and those of *Holland*.

Holland; these last never ceasing to instil into the Minds of the others that Love of Liberty they so much glory in; to put them out of conceit with Monarchy, and to stir them up to cast off the Yoke of legal Dominion, being always ready to support any Factions that attack'd it. They had also for some time affronted the King personally, by their scandalous Lampoons, which were applauded in *Holland* instead of being suppress'd, and the Authors found out and punish'd.

It fell out fortunately for the pulling down of that Support of the Republican Party, that his most Christian Majesty also complain'd against the *Dutch*, and had very great Reasons; for besides those which regarded that Monarch's Person, whom they treated no better than the King of *England*, he had others that concern'd the State. He had made War on *Spain* for the Inheritance of the Queen his Wife, after the Death of King *Philip the 4th*, whose Daughter she was. His Arms had been extraordinary successful; for he had taken *Doway*, *Tournay*, *Lisle*, and all *Franche Comte*. The *Dutch* were alarm'd at this Progress made by a young King, who was powerful, ambitious of Honour, and by his Conquests drew nearer and nearer to them. This Cause of Fear was more prevalent over the *Hollanders* than the Gratitude they ow'd him, for having very lately join'd with them against *England*; and they had brought into a League against him not only *England*, but *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and sought all Occasions to anger and provoke him.

These Discontents in a King, on whom the Eyes of *England* and *France* all *Europe* were fixt, and who was in a Condition not much to need to hide his Resentments, were not unknown in *London*, and too favourable to the Projects then in hand not to be made use of. For this reason, the Term of the Triple League being expir'd, instead of renewing it, as the *Dutch* desir'd, the *English* Ministers enter'd upon a Treaty with those of *France*, in order to conclude an Alliance between the two Crowns, that might help to promote their Designs. Monsieur *Colbert de Craissy* treated in *England*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* in *France*: *Madame*, the late Dutchess of *Orleans* concluded it, when she made that mysterious Voyage beyond the Sea.

The Particulars of that Treaty are not for my Purpose, bating one Article, which relates to Religion, and Liberty of Conscience.

had

1670.

had too much Influence over the Duke of *York's* Life to be here omitted. The Presbyterians had put the King to some Trouble during the first *Holland War*, being offended at the attacking of a People of their own Principles, and whom they look'd upon as their Support. For the removing of any such Obstacle against the War in hand, and to pacify those turbulent Spirits, *Shaftsbury* propos'd granting of Liberty of Conscience, establish'd by the Declaration at *Breda*, and afterwards taken away by the Parliament.

*Debates
about it.*

For the clearing of this Point it is to be understood, that some time after the King's Restoration, *Monk's* Parliament having been dissolv'd, as not conven'd by legal Authority, and therefore not to be own'd as a real Parliament, King *Charles* call'd another. There were great Debates in that Assembly about Liberty of Conscience, between the Protestants and the Catholics, the Church of *England* and the Presbyterians. The Catholick Party was supported by the Earl of *Bristol*, a Man in great Repute, and Head of a potent Faction; the Protestant Party by Chancellor *Hyde*, chief of an opposite Faction, and a Person of no less Consideration, who putting himself at the Head of the prevailing Church of *England* Party in that Parliament, declar'd not only against the Catholics, but against the Presbyterians, and all those the Church of *England* calls Nonconformists. The King, who was no good Christian in his Actions, but a Catholick in his Heart, did all that could be expected from his easy Temper; to maintain the common Liberty, that so the Catholick Church might have share in it; but the Church of *England* prevail'd, and Chancellor *Hyde* was so hot upon that Point, that his Majesty was oblig'd to yield rather to his Importunity than to his Reasons.

*Resolv'd
upon, and
granted.*

It was the restoring of that Liberty of Conscience so taken away, that *Shaftsbury* thought requisite for carrying on the Design in Hand. He communicated it with his Colleagues, who were of the same Opinion, not only on account of the Reason he urg'd, which was the gaining of the Presbyterians, whom they fear'd; but upon another, which he easily approv'd of, and was the favouring of the Catholics, whom most of them lov'd, and all had an Esteem for. *Clifford* and *Arlington* were so in private, and both dy'd in the Church; the Duke of *Bucking-*

1670.

Buckingham needed no Conversion as to Opinion, could he have prevail'd with himself as to Libertinism. *Shaftsbury* himself was not very averse to it, as long as Interest and Malice did not carry him over to another Party, from that he was inclin'd to. But tho' they had not much regard to Religion as to themselves, those Politicians, who at that time made little account of it any otherwise than with respect to the Monarchy, were fully perswaded, notwithstanding all the old Slanders of the Sectaries, that the Principles of the Catholick Church are the best to keep the People in their due Submission to Kings; and Experience had convinc'd them, that whether in Prosperity or Adversity, their Master had never found more loyal Subjects than the Catholicks. Upon this Consideration, they concluded it was the highest Injustice that such loyal Subjects should not enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion; but on the contrary, should be oppress'd and harass'd above all other Nonconformists, by Acts of Parliament pass'd since the Fire of *London*, which the Protestants had laid to their Charge, without any other Reason but their Malice. It is easy to believe the King readily comply'd with them, being himself always of that Opinion till Death, baring what Policy prevail'd on him to act counter, and that the Duke of *York* us'd all his Interest to support them. All the Debate was, concerning the Extent of that Liberty, and the two Kings acting in Concert, that Affair was handled in their Treaty. Several Proposals were made, some more, some less Advantageous to the Catholicks; *France* was for the more Moderate, as safest, and most seasonable, and it was agreed, that his Majesty should grant Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects in general.

1671.

The Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience was soon follow'd by the Declaration of War. The People dislik'd neither, having been prepar'd for both by well-penn'd Declarations, showing them what Advantage the Nation would reap, by the publick Tranquility that Liberty would produce, and by the weak'ning of a State that ruin'd their Trade in all Parts.

War proclaimed.

Thus the People of *England* contentedly beheld the opening of the Glorious Campaign in 1672. The Duke of *York*, who commanded the Royal Navy of *England*, having joyn'd the Count *D'Estrees*, since Mareschal of *France*,

1672.

Fight with the Dutch.

1672.

France, and Vice Admiral, fought the *Ruyter*, at *Southwold Bay*. The *Dutch* did not grant all the Advantage the *English* pretended to have had in that Fight. In short, the Event of the first Days Action was very uncertain; but the next Day, tho' the *Ruyter* thought to have surpriz'd the Duke at Anchor; that Prince gave him such a warm Reception, that he pursu'd him to the Flats, and had not a Fog that rose hinder'd his Sight, had totally defeated him; above 15 of the *Dutch* Ships having been un-masted, un-rigg'd, and made unfit for Service the first Time they engag'd.

French
Conquests.

Whatsoever Controversy there might be about the Success of the Fleets, the Land Army gain'd so much, that the Commonwealth of *Holland* was upon the Brink of Ruin. The Arms of *France* led by a Warlike King in Person, in less than two Months, had conquer'd *Orsay*, *Burich*, *Rhinbergue*, *Wesel*, *Beez*, *Emmerich*, the Fort of *Scenk*, *Grave*, and *Naerden*; the fine Towns of *Doefburgh*, *Arnhem*, *Nimeguen*, *Zutphen*, and *Utrecht*. This last Conquest brought the *Dutch* to the Feet of the two Kings, to sue for Peace, which those Monarchs would not grant, unless on such Terms, as reduc'd those Republicans to the Condition they would have them in; yet such as all those Peoples Misfortunes, tho' almost Subdu'd, could not prevail with them to accept of.

The Dutch
desperate.

It was thought that Despair rather than Courage influenc'd the Resolutions the Conquer'd then came to. They drowned their own Country, and ruin'd all the best Parts the Inundation could not reach, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemies. Yet it is likely all this had only serv'd to add to their Losses, had all the *English* joyn'd in promoting their King's Interest, as all the *French* were unanimous in advancing the Glory of theirs; and there is no question, but that the next Campaign the Fall of *Holland* had overthrown the Support of the *English* Republicans, could King *Charles* have answer'd for his own Subjects as well as King *Lewis*. By ill Fortune the former too soon stood in need of his Parliament's Assistance, and it had always been rightly concluded, that the Republican Party which crept into that Assembly, would obstruct the granting of Supplies. There was still more reason to think so after the Success of the Campaign, which had reviv'd the *English* Hatred

1672.

Treachery
in En-
gland.O ancient
-s maining
-it wood
to record
-souldingThe King
in Wars.

France, the Protestants Jealousy of the Catholics, and the Republicans Malice against the King, who joyn'd with the French to undermine the Bulwark of their Religion. It had been hop'd that those Murmurs would not be worth regarding, and they must have prov'd of no Consequence, had there been Money enough to carry on the War, without being oblig'd to the Parliament, but wrong Measures had been taken. Besides the first Mistake in computing the Charges of the War, they had reckon'd upon uncertain Funds, which fail'd. The Ministers had flatter'd the King, that they should surprize the Dutch Fleet returning home richly laden from Smyrna, with an immense Treasure; but the Misunderstanding between those that commanded the English Fleet disappointed the King in that Particular, which in its self was unjust, because the War was not then declar'd. They would have had Recourse to Loans, but the King had lost his Credit by a sort of Bankrupt his Ministers had advis'd him to, in shutting up the Exchequer, which is the Place where the Interest of what the King borrows is paid.

The Duke of York had at first foreseen those Inconveniences. His Knowledge in Sea Affairs had caus'd him to declare there was not Money enough to go through with what was intended. He could neither approve of the surprizing of the Fleet, nor of the shutting up of the Exchequer, and had foretold the ill Consequences of that Irregular Proceeding. The King, too late, perceiv'd that Prince had been in the Right. After the Campaign above mention'd, he began to want Money, and apply'd to the Bankers; but those who us'd to supply him upon his urgent Necessities were exhausted at this Time, and he was oblig'd against his Will to have Recourse to the Parliament, to ask their Assistance.

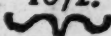
The Parliament met about the latter end of the Year, too soon perhaps for the King to carry his Point, the Dutch gaining them over by means of a powerful Alliance, in which the House of Austria was concern'd, to maintain the War. Thus when the King had made known his Wants, instead of Money he had nothing but Complaints of his Conduct, and particularly as to Religion. The ill Humour they were in carry'd them so far as to find Fault with the Duke of York's second Marriage, with Mary D'Este, now Queen. They presented an

1672.

an Address to obstruct that Match, and his Majesty was fain to wait a proper Opportunity to bring that Prince to *London*. That was not the Business which most incens'd the Commons; the Liberty of Conscience, the Alliance with *France*, and the War with *Holland*, were more to their Hearts. However the Republicans not daring, as yet, to charge the King with so many Particulars, stuck to the first, as the likeliest to engage both the Parliament and the People. That prov'd the right Method. The People took the Cue, and the Parliament fell upon that Business with such a Heat as gives a Colour to Audaciousness, when so manag'd as to be mistaken for Zeal. They positively declar'd, the King should have no Money, unless he recall'd the Liberty of Conscience.

Various Opinions about Liberty of Conscience.

King *Charles* had never been so perplex'd since his Restoration. He was loath to take away the Liberty of Conscience, but he wanted Money. What troubled him most was, that his Friends, and all the Court were divided; some advising him to yield to the pressing Necessity of getting a Supply, and to use some Compliance with those that could give it him; and others dissuading him from yielding a Point so necessary for raising his Authority to such a Pitch as would enable him to act as a King. Among the first were, not only the Duke of *Ormond*, and several other Protestants, zealous for their Religion, but even the Earl of *Arlington*, a Man fearful, and naturally yielding, who supported such as arguing from other Principles than the Genius of the *English*, thought the safest Method was to give way for a while to their Heat, in order to bring them back the more securely to their Duty, when the *Dutch* were subdu'd. The Duke of *York*, and the Ministers, were of another Mind, not only with Respect to the Catholick Religion consider'd in it self, and with Regard to the Monarchy; but because they thought it of Consequence that the King should be steady in his Resolutions, against the Attempts of an Assembly that was too apt to oppose them. They still remember'd, how the Parliament in 1640 had dealt with King *Charles* the First, as soon as he condescended to their first Proposals; and said, they saw no less Cause to fear in the present Circumstances, for no sooner would the King recal the Liberty of Conscience, but they would set up some other



other Demands, which would never have an End, till they were carry'd so high, that the King not being able to grant them, without undoing himself, Things would be left in the same Condition they then were; and after a thousand Condescensions prejudicial to his Interest, he would be at last fain to break with the Parliament, and all the Fruit he should reap of his Compliance, would be the making that Assembly for the future the Bolder in contradictting of him. These same Persons added, that his holding his Resolution a few Days, would bring the Parliament to Reason, his Majesty having a Party among them that began to make the Mutiniers waver; and that there were Forces enough on Foot to support the one Side and daunt the other; *Shaftsbury* undertaking to answer for the Success.

These Reasons vigorously urg'd on both Sides, held the King in suspense. It has been suspected that the Women engag'd in this Affair, and prevail'd with King *Charles* to follow the Advice of those who were for recalling the Liberty of Conscience; however it happen'd, he recall'd it, and with his own Hands broke the Great Seal of *England* that was to it. No sooner had he done so, but all that fell out, which those who would have dissuaded him had foretold. The Parliament put no Bounds to their Demands, and seem'd to be possess'd by the same Spirit as that was which had drove King *Charles* the First to such Extremities. The Event was not so fatal to the Son as it had been to the Father, but it wanted not much, and in other Respects there was little Difference in their Proceedings against him. Neither of those Parliaments in the Bulk of them laid those horrid Designs against the Lives of their Sovereigns, which some private Cabals brought to Light in the End; but each of them had its *Cromwel*, the second of which was much the more to be fear'd, because he took shorter and more decisive Measures to attain his End.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was the turbulent Man I speak of. So much Justice must be done him as to say, that having been a Republican in the Reign of King *Charles* the First, he had sincerely return'd to his Duty under King *Charles* the Second. Few Men had done that Prince more considerable Service than he, and none had been so zealous for restoring the Monarch, and the Monarchy to their just Rights, which the Troubles of the

1672.

last Reign had embolden'd the Parliament to invade. The Project I have now mention'd is a Testimony of that Minister's Zeal for his Master; meer Spight to see it disappointed by that which he call'd Weakness in the King, made him change Sides at once, and from an entirely devoted Subject he then was, on a sudden transform'd him into a resolute Mutinier, and at last into Chief of the Conspirators. Two Things concurr'd to put him upon those Extrems. The one was, his despairing of being able to do any thing to the purpose for a Prince he thought had not Resolution enough to carry on a considerable Undertaking. He already complain'd that the King had forsaken him in an Affair wherein he had promis'd to stand by him, and wherein the Interest of the Crown was as much concern'd as in this we have spoken of. The Election of Members to succeed such as dy'd out of the House of Commons, had been for a long Time so order'd, that the Seditious Party always prevail'd; because that House had assum'd to it self the Authority of issuing the Writs. This was an Abuse brought in during the Troubles of the last Reign, and suffer'd to continue after the Restoration, through the Weakness, or Ignorance of those who had been Chancellors before *Shaftsbury*. The ancient Custom was, that when any Member dy'd, the Chancellor issu'd a Writ for electing of another. By this Means, notwithstanding the Writ contain'd nothing that might obstruct the Liberty of the Election, yet the King had it in his Power at least to use Means for diverting the Choice from falling upon Persons that were against him. *Shaftsbury* had attempted to retrieve that Right, and brought it into use during the Intervals of Parliament; after obtaining the King's Promise, that he would stand firm to him, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances he foresaw the Commons would doubtless make on that Account. They had not omitted it, but press'd so hard, that the King comply'd with them. Thus notwithstanding his Majesty's Promises, the Chancellor had the Mortification of seeing his Elections made void, and the old Abuse restor'd. From that Time he foretold, that the Liberty of Conscience would come to nothing, and freely declar'd, that in case it did, he would go over to the Parliament Party, and have no more regard for the Court. He was as good as his Word; his Master's Business in condescen-

ding

ding as to the Elections lay at his Heart, when the recalling of Liberty of Conscience put him quite out of Patience, and made him say openly, That a Man who forsook himself deserv'd to be forsaken; a false Maxim, when the Sovereign is concern'd, or that Party that cannot Lawfully be abandon'd. As turbulent a Person as *Shaftsbury* was, he had not perhaps carry'd his Malice so far, had there been no other Motive but the King's Interest. He that commits an Error to his own Disadvantage is rather pity'd than hated; but the King's Condescension in Point of Liberty of Conscience, concern'd his Ministers Personally, because his Majesty by that Means disclaiming the Advice they had given him, left them expos'd to the Parliament, and the Earl appearing to have had a greater Share than any other in all that had been done at Court, he had Cause to fear the Parliament might pitch upon him to make an Example of. This was the second Motive that put him upon such Extreams. It may be said, he design'd the Zeal he would show for the Protestant Religion, and for the Parliament, should expiate for that he had made appear for the Catholick Religion and the Monarchy.

One Step advanc'd in Wickedness draws on another; *His wicked Ambition,* and one Passion rous'd up always excites many others. Anger made *Shaftsbury* ambitious of being the Author of a Revolution in the State, of changing the Government, and once more attempting to bring about the monstrous Change of Monarchy into a Republick.

In order to compass his Designs, he thought it not proper to begin by attacking the King, or Monarchy directly. The King was a Prince well Establish'd, and in whom no Pretence could appear to make the People forsake him. As for Monarchy, they were too lately got out of the Troubles into which the Usurpers had brought the Nation, to propose banishing Kings again; even those that were call'd Republicans for the most part aiming only at the Authority, not at Kingly Government. *Shaftsbury* perceiving he could not come at what he intended the direct Way, took a Compass, which he thought would bring him to the same Place; and not being able to depose the King, resolv'd to disinherit his Successor, being convinc'd, that the best Method to destroy the Monarchy was to disturb the Order of the Succession. He thought the Duke of *York's* Religion would

1672.

be an infallible Means to exclude him from the Crown, and question'd not but he might compass his Design, by firing the zealous Protestants upon that Head, by incensing the Parliament, and by rend'ring his Highness odious to the People. From that Time forward the Duke became the Object of all that wicked Man's Malice, and he was very near falling a Sacrifice to it. Such Audaciousness, such Artifices, and such Contrivances were practis'd against him, that it must be reck'ned an extraordinary Resolution which made him bear up so high above that Persecution, and a great deal of Prudence to surmount it.

*He betrays
the King.*

The Attack was sudden and unexpected. Never was any great Change in so short a Time as *Shaftsbury's* upon this Occasion. No sooner did the King begin to incline to the re-calling of Liberty of Conscience, but that Minister had notice of it. He lost no Time; the Resolution was not taken till Eleven at Night, and the next Morning he appear'd in the House of Lords, where of he was a Member, at the Head of the most zealous Peers against the Catholick Religion, the Wars with *Holland* and the Alliance with *France*. This first Sally surpriz'd the Parliament as well as the Court, and caus'd an extraordinary Commotion every where. The Disorder was much height'ned, when the Earl discover'd the private Motives, that had induc'd the King to grant Liberty of Conscience, to enter into Alliance with *France*, and to declare War upon *Holland*. It is a Crime in a King of *England* to think of breaking those Fetters the Parliament puts upon him, and of confining that Assembly within the Bounds preferib'd by the Laws, to which it draws back the Sovereign, if he happens to break out but never so little. The King was suspected to have such a Design, and no question was made of it, after *Shaftsbury* had spoke; so that they were upon their Guard for the future to disappoint all that might advance that Project.

*The Test
Act.*

Shaftsbury had too well dispos'd his Hearers for favouring his Designs, to omit making use of that Conjunction, and beginning to attack the Prince he intended to destroy. His Method was artful; it did not appear that they aim'd at the Duke of *York*, but at the Catholicks in general, against whom *Shaftsbury* invented a new Oath, the Parliament inserting it into an Act, which the

1672.

the King, tho' by Compulsion, and against his Inclination, pass'd into a Law. There were two Oaths before invented against Catholicks, to distinguish and persecute them when they should think fit. The One was the Oath of Allegiance, by which the Opinion of those who admit of any Power whatsoever to be above the King, is condemn'd as Heretical; the other was the Oath of Supremacy, by which the King is acknowledg'd Head of the Church in his Dominions. That I now speak of was call'd the Test; that is to say, a Trial or Testimony of the Religion a Man profess'd. By this Oath they were to abjure the real Presence of *Christ* in the Holy Eucharist, and at the same time a Penal Law pass'd against all those that refus'd to take the Oath of Supremacy, and which excluded them from all Places of Trust, was extended to the Peers, who did not take that Oath, and were now oblig'd to the third. At this rate the King obtain'd 1350000 Pounds granted him by the Parliament for carrying on of the War.

Shaftsbury had foreseen that the Duke of *York* would be gravell'd by that new Oath, which he would not take, and against which he had not Time, or perhaps the Liberty of using any Precautions. So the Effect of the Test was, that the Duke did not command the Fleet the following Year 1673. Prince *Rupert*, who had join'd with *Shaftsbury* to promote the Test, that he might be himself High Admiral of *England*, executed that Office, and fought the *Dutch*, with whom neither the Parliament nor *Shaftsbury* thought it then time to oblige the King to make Peace. The Event of the Fight was dubious, and each Side claim'd the Advantage, without being able to shew any thing for it; but it is said, that this War being very costly, and coming to no Decision, gave the Parliament a plausible Occasion to oblige the King to conclude a separate Peace with *Holland*, as was actually done on the 19th of *February*, 1674. yet so as not to break with the first Allies, whatsoever the Parliament could do to induce him to it.

1673.

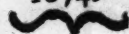
Prince
Rupert
Admiral.

1674.

Peace with
Holland.

It is very likely King *Charles* would not have been able to persist in his Alliance with *France*, had not the most Christian King oblig'd his Enemies to accept of Peace, by the continual Success God was pleas'd to give him in that War. His Conquests in *Holland*, in the Year 1672. had drawn down all the Power of the House of

1674.



French
Conquests.

Peace of
Nime-
guen.

Austria upon him; the Empire and *Spain* were join'd in League with those Republicans against him. The *English* thought such a League as that too favourable an Opportunity of invading *France* to be slighted. The Conspiracy ran so high, that King *Charles* was oblig'd to arm, to recall all the Forces he had sent into *France* to serve that Crown, and to send others into *Flanders* to join those of the Allies: Thus, as much as in him lay, amuzing his Parliament with Preparations for a War he did not design to enter into; but which it was foreseen he would be at last compell'd to, in case the General Peace, which was then in Treaty, but met with many Difficulties, did not rid him of that Trouble. The King of *France*, by repeated Victories and fresh Conquests at length forc'd the Allies to accept of Peace, which he had long before offer'd, and they would not consent to. Upon the first News of the Alliance, he had quitted several Places too remote to be easily maintain'd against such numerous Enemies; but he had made himself amends for the quitting of those Conquests, by the taking of so many Towns, much larger, stronger, and lying more advantageously for him, that tho' left alone against so many Confederates, he was still able to prescribe Laws, to make them sue for Peace, and to assign the Conditions. *Maestricht*, *Dinant*, *Limburgh*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, *St. Omer*, *Tpres*, *Ghent*, *Franche Comte* a second time, for it had been the first time sacrific'd to the publick Peace, were now added to the Conqueror's Dominions; whilst at the same time the Glory of his Arms receiv'd new Lustre from the Battels gain'd at *Senef* by the Prince of *Conde*, at *Cassel* by the Duke of *Orleans*, and at *Zintzen* and *Incizem* by the *Mareschal de Turenne*. These great Advantages at length oblig'd that Monarch's Enemies to consent to a Peace, which was concluded at *Nimeguen* on the 10th of *August*, 1678. by virtue whereof the Victor yielding up some of the conquer'd Places, acquir'd the peaceable Possession of *Valenciennes*, *St. Omer*, *Cambray*, *Tpres*, and other Places in *Flanders* taken from the *Spaniards*, as also of all *Franche Comte*, another Limb torn from that Monarchy, which has for many Years been by false Friends drawn into Wars, the whole Charge whereof falls upon it.

Whilst his most Christian Majesty thus fortunately made use of his Time in *Flanders*, in the Execution of his

his Designs, *Shaftsbury* lost not his in *England*, where his Projects were broken by a long Contest he had with the Parliament.

1672.
Shafts-
bury loses
ground.

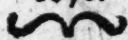
That Earl had a Gang of People that adher'd to him, to whom he discover'd more or less of his Designs, according to the Confidence he repos'd in them. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Marquis of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, were the prime Men of that Party; but whether thro' their Indiscretion, or thro' the ill Opinion all honest Men had conceiv'd of them, their Intentions came to be known abroad. The Earl of *Danby*, Lord High Treasurer by *Clifford's* laying down, and Prime Minister, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Bishops, had propos'd a new Oath to be taken by all Members of Parliament, that they would not consent to alter the Government either in Church or State. The Oath had not yet pass'd, but so considerable a Part of the Parliament opposing *Shaftsbury's* Designs, he be- thought himself, by reviving some old Laws of King *Edward* the Third, and King *Richard* the Second, which directed the Parliament to meet yearly, to pretend that the present Parliament having been 15 Months prorogu'd, was actually dissolv'd; at which that Assembly taking Offence, *Shaftsbury* and his Adherents were committed to the Tower. They continu'd a long time under Confinement, and were not discharg'd till some Months before the Conclusion of the Peace. From that time the Duke of *Buckingham* seem'd to be somewhat out of conceit with the Intrigue. The Love of Pleasure, which was his prevailing Passion, insensibly drew off his Zeal from the Faction. He return'd not to the King's Party, but did little for the opposite Cabal; and being addicted to Raillery, he made sport of all the Errors committed by hot Heads, either through misguided Ambition, or want of Policy. *Shaftsbury*, whom different Passions put upon other sort of Thoughts, was more steady and uniform in Wickedness. His Misfortune had broken his Party's Measures; but still his Dexterity kept it up, and tho' his Confinement had retarded the Execution of his Designs, it had not taken him off desiring to execute them.

Committed
to the
Tower.

The Peace of *Europe*, which seem'd to have appeas'd all Troubles, gave that restless Spirit Occasion to heighten the Commotions he had rais'd in his Country. That

1678.
Shafts-
bury's vic-
ked De-
Peace signs.

1678.



Peace was too advantageous to *France* not to grieve the *English*; and they thought their King, who had suffer'd it to be concluded, maintain'd too good an Understanding with him that reap'd the Benefit of it, to be excus'd from bearing his Part in their Displeasure. *Shaftsbury* was too well acquainted with the Art of improving Opportunities, to let slip one so favourable for the bringing about of his Designs. He had already began to stir up the *Londoners*. The Parliament, which had sat from *January* till *April*, and which meeting again in *May*, continu'd till the Conclusion of the Peace, had given him an Opportunity of gaining to himself Partisans, and particularly in the House of Commons. He made such good use of that Time, and the Prorogation, which lasted from the End of *August* till the End of *October*, that he gain'd more Power over the Commons, and consequently over all the Parliament, than ever *Cromwel* had; the Zeal he pretended for the Protestant Religion so far deceiving all the Sectaries, that in return they gave him the Title of the Protestant Earl. Whatsoever Followers he gain'd, his Confinement had made him more cautious than ever in disclosing his Design, even to those that adher'd to him; there were very few that knew all he intended to do, and were admitted into all the Plot, much as it happen'd under *Cromwel*; the rest were People he impos'd upon, but did it several Ways. Some he only acquainted with the general Design he pretended to, of securing the establish'd Religion against the Machinations of the Catholics, and the Liberties of the Nation against the King and his Ministers. Others he inform'd of the Measures he was beginning to take to prevent the Duke of *York's* succeeding the King his Brother, because he was a Catholic; but at the same time he remov'd the Apprehensions they might conceive, of such another Change as that which had occasion'd so much Confusion under *Oliver Cromwel*; proposing to them a Protestant Successor, at the same time putting two several Persons in hopes of the Crown, to the end that several contending for it, might give Occasion at the time to grant it to none. The Prince of *Orange* is said to have been the first he flatter'd with it. Whether he prevented him, or was prevented, I cannot positively decide. Some are of opinion that the Prince had foresight enough to have that in view when

he

1678.

he married the Princess *Mary*, eldest Daughter to the Duke of *York*; and that from the time he perceiv'd the Storm rising against that Heir to the King of *England*, he had thought it his Right to make the best Advantage of his Shipwreck. The Duke of *York* had mistrusted it, and done all he could to obstruct that Match, which the King his Brother, being impos'd upon by the Earl of *Darby* and Sir *William Temple*, had concluded without his Privy. The Event has plainly show'd that the Duke saw farther than others; but being under Command, he could make no use of that Foresight for his own Preservation, whilst the wicked *Shaftsbury* us'd all his Arts to destroy him. For whether he first put the Prince in hopes of the Crown, or whether the Prince thought of it before the Earl apply'd to him, it is look'd upon as most certain, that they combin'd strictly in that Matter, and that one *du Moulin*, a *Hugonot*, transacted the Affair between them. It is farther added, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was then in *Flanders*, had engag'd to serve the *Dutch* Prince in that Design. If so, he kept not his Word with him. No sooner did the Duke of *Monmouth* return into *England*, but he suffer'd himself in his Turn to be flatter'd with the Hopes of a Crown, which the subtle *Shaftsbury* suggested, insinuating the Means for him to have himself declar'd the King's lawful Son.

The Earl expected the sitting of the Parliament to set *Oats's Plot* all his Engines at work; but an Opportunity offer'd it *ridiculous*. Self sooner. Some say he contriv'd it himself, and that the false Plot *Oats* pretended to discover about the Beginning of *September*, to destroy the Catholics, was invented by *Shaftsbury*, who did it to involve the Duke of *York* and all the Royal Family in their Ruin. It is scarce credible, that a Man of Sense could be the Author of so ill concerted a Fable as that was; or that he could entertain so mean an Opinion of the Nation, as to think some would be so weak as to believe, and others so wicked as to make it a Pretence for that Persecution, which was the Death of so many innocent Persons. But if the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was not the Father of that Chimera, however he knew how to make use of it, when he perceiv'd, that as absurd as it was, still it succeeded, and wrought powerfully on Mens Minds. Never was any more unlikely, or that carry'd along with it more evident

1678.

evident Tokens of Falshood. All *Europe* is sensible, and so fully convinc'd of it at this time, that it would be impertinent to go about to refute that which no body believes. Such an Accusation is it self an Apology for the Persons accus'd; and tho' the Inventors of it had not been convicted of palpable Contradictions, as appears by their Testimonies, which are undeniably against them, it must have dropt on account of the Character of the Authors, who were all obscure, mean, and infamous Persons, unworthy of any Credit, unless among such as were fit to carry on their Designs, it must have overthrown it self by the very Scheme that was laid, being the most extravagant, and in all Particulars the wildest that ever the World beheld. Those who desire to be better inform'd as to that Affair must read the Apologies printed at that time for the *English* Catholics. That which is in answer to the Libel call'd, *The Politicks of the French Clergy*, is writ by an Author, that cannot be suspected of being too well affected to many of those, whom the Power of Truth obliges him to defend. There it appears that *Turns Oats*, long before famous for being convicted of Perjury, after several other Adventures, turning Catholick, or pretending so to do, went away to a Seminary of the *English* Jesuits in the *Low Countries*; and being uneasy there, return'd into his own Country, and reassuming his old wicked Inclinations with his former Religion, accus'd all the Catholics in *England* of being in a Plot against their King, and the Protestants in general, whom he pretended they had a Design to destroy at once. The Pope, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, the Duke of *York*, the Queen, and some of the most considerable Lords, were all cast into the Conspiracy; but the General of the Jesuits was made the Ringleader. That Chief, they pretended, made so sure of the Success of his wicked Project, that he had beforehand sent Commissions under his own Hand to the Heads of the Conspirators, for the prime Employments in the Court, Army, and Civil Government. One was to the Lord *Arundel* to be Lord Chancellor, another to the Earl of *Powis* to be Treasurer; the Lords *Bellasis* and *Petre* were to command the Army, and Sir *William Godolphin* to be Privy Seal, and so of others. The Murder of the King, and Massacre of all the Protestants, was to be but an Hour's Work, so well were all Matters concerted



and if any should escape by Flight, or lying conceal'd, they were to be sought out, pursu'd, and cut off to a Man, by an Army of Two Hundred Thousand Men, partly rais'd in *England*, and partly brought in from beyond the Sea, all to be paid by the Pope, and encouraged by a Plenary Indulgence to commit so many Villanies.

In any other Country, to use the very Words of the Apologist above-mention'd, they would have shut up those Witnesses, as Madmen, that should offer to demonstrate such ridiculous Fables; in *England*, they were believed, or which is worse, they pretended to believe them; and what was it they did not thereupon? The Parliament meeting that same Year, 1678, that Business was drove to the utmost, and so hotly pursu'd, that from that Time forward the Goals were full of Catholics, charg'd with conspiring against the Life of a King, in Defence of whom they had so often expos'd their own. The Earls of *Powis* and *Castlemain*, the Vice Count *Stafford*, the Barons *Petre*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, and *Bellasis*, *Coleman*, Secretary to the Dutchess of *Tork*, Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician, *Langhorn* a Lawyer, Jesuits, Monks, Secular Priests, and Lay-men, were taken up at several Times. No Sex was spar'd; the Countess of *Powis* partook of her Husband's Confinement; nor was it long before they began to shed Blood. *Coleman* was the first executed, without being convicted of any other Crime, but much Zeal for his Religion, which only added to that he had for his King; and was all that could be made of his Letters to some Foreigners, produc'd at his Tryal, as is observ'd by the Apologist, who might have added, that his double Zeal for his Religion and for his King render'd *Coleman* doubly Criminal in the Eyes of the Parliament of *England*.

As soon as *Shaftsbury* observ'd the first Commotions occasion'd by the Noise of the false Plot, he concluded that was a favourable Conjunction to remove the Duke of *Tork*. The Parliament was in a proper Disposition to pass Acts against the Catholics; the Earl question'd not but with good Management he might bring some to pass that would exclude that Prince from the Succession to the Crown. He began by loading the Test with several Articles against the Mass, Purgatory, and the Invocation of Saints, which would increase the Horror they

Shaftsbury improves the Plot.

1678.

they had already conceiv'd against that profane Oath. Not satisfy'd with enlarging the Oath, he caus'd the Penal Laws to be extended to all such as would not take it; and it was enacted, that they should not only be excluded all Places of Trust, but also from the Parliament and the Court, where none of them might appear without a License under the Hands of Six Privy Counsellors, upon urgent Occasions, and even in that Case they should not be admitted above three times a Year at most, and every time might stay there but 10 Days. The Earl's Design was, that this Act should be in general Terms; but the Duke of York, who plainly perceiv'd it aim'd at him, oppos'd it so vigorously, that after long Debates, he prevail'd, and was excepted. Thus was he neither excluded the Parliament, nor the Court by that Act, which was call'd the Great Test, as he was from bearing Employments by the lesser.

Long Parliament dissolv'd.

This Exception provok'd the Earl, and increas'd his Malice. He publickly declar'd, he valu'd not the Test, yet his Anger made him not despair. Being disappointed in this first Attempt, he prepar'd for another, where in, casting off the Mask, he engag'd his Partisans in the House of Commons to form a Project of Exclusion, to declare the Duke of York incapable of wearing the Crown; which the King understanding, he dissolv'd that call'd the Long Parliament, because it had lasted 18 Years.

Presbyterian Parliament.

Another was appointed to meet in *March*, 1679, upon Hopes it might be compos'd of Members that would be better inclin'd to the Court; but *Shaftsbury* had taken such Measures, that it was fill'd with Presbyterians, with whom he was closely united, as being naturally Enemies to Kingly Government, and the fiercest of the Protestants for extirpating of Catholics.

Earl of Danby's Politicks.

The very first Elections show'd what was to be expected from that great Number of inveterate Persons, that were to meet in Parliament, and all possible Care was taken that they might not poison the Rest. Among the other Precautions us'd to that Purpose, the Earl of *Danby* advis'd the King to send away the Duke of York, that so the Parliament might have no Cause to complain, that all proper Measures had not been taken to secure the Reformation against that Prince's Zeal. *Danby* was willing

1678.

1679.

The D. of
York re-
sires to
Brussels.

Danby in
the Towers

willing to please the Parliament, because they had taken
Offence at him. He had receiv'd Money to disband
Forces, which were still kept up. He had been for the
Alliance with *France*, and that was enough to provoke
them. He thought he might have amus'd them by en-
couraging the Villain *Oates* to bring the Catholics upon
the Stage; but that Artifice fail'd him. The former
Parliament had commenc'd some Proceedings against
the Earl of *Danby*, who had Cause to apprehend the
Consequences of them in a new one, and therefore to
gain the Favour of that Assembly he advis'd the King to
send away his Brother, the Duke of *York*. The Duke
was too submissive to his Majesty to dispute his Com-
mands; but at the same Time he was too well acquaint-
ed with *Shaftsbury's* Practices, not to take all necessary
Precautions in his Obedience, that he might not put his
Fortune wholly into the Power of his Enemies. He was
inform'd, that all possible Means were us'd to make the
Duke of *Monmouth* be thought Legitimate, and that they
did not despair of having him declar'd such by the Parli-
ament. He knew they were preparing to push on the
Exclusion, and was not without Apprehension, lest
they should represent his Retreat as the Flight of a
Criminal, rather than the Obedience of a Dutiful Sub-
ject. Upon these Considerations, he concluded he could
not in Prudence depart *England*, till the King had pro-
mis'd to declare he was never marry'd to the Duke of
Monmouth's Mother; that he would never consent to
the Exclusion propos'd; and lastly to give him an Order
under his Hand to remove. The King being well affe-
cted towards his Brother, made no Difficulty of gran-
ting those three Requests; whereupon the Duke cross'd
the Sea, and withdrew to *Brussels*.

The Parliament which met soon after, took little
Notice of that Condescension of the King. The Severi-
ty wherewith they proceeded against the Earl of *Danby*
upon their first Sitting, gave his Majesty Occasion to
enquire how little Regard they would have for himself.
He omitted nothing that might conduce to save his Mini-
ster; condescending so low as to court the Commons
in his Behalf, and at the same Time gave him a General
Pardon for all Crimes he might have committed whilst
Treasurer, against the Laws, or Customs of the Land.
Both prov'd in vain; his Application was not regarded,
and

1679.

and the Legality of the Pardon he had granted was call'd in question. *Danby* was committed to the Tower where a long Imprisonment seem'd to threaten the Ruin of his Fortune, and the Loss of his Head.

*The King's
Difficul-
ties.*

The King was naturally of a yielding Disposition; he wanted Money to relieve *Tangier*, then threat'ned by the *Moors*; he also wanted it for other Uses, not so necessary, but which perhaps he no less laid to Heart; he thought he might get some of the Parliament by dint of Condescension, and consequently spar'd for nothing that might oblige them, stopping at nothing but the Article of the Succession, which he was resolv'd should not be alter'd.

*Unjust
Procee-
dings.*

He began by seeming to give Credit to the Plot which he had never believ'd, and at that Time less than ever. It must be own'd he carry'd on that Business too far, and counterfeited a Credulity which was made use of to the committing of much Injustice. The Catholics suffer'd very much. The Proceedings against them were so far from any Moderation, that they were not even allow'd those outward Forms of Justice, which generally Men take care should attend the most corrupt Judgments. I know not by what Art Sir *George Wake* man was clear'd, but they made sufficient amends for that small Quantity of Catholick Blood spar'd in that Man, by that of so many others as was spilt in abundance, and without any Mercy. Among those put to Death were *Langhorn*, the Lawyer, two Monks, and six Jesuits, besides many others that perish'd through Hardships in Prisons, falling Sacrifices to the Protestant Hatred against the Catholick Church.

*The King's
Condescen-
sions.*

The King bore with Reluctancy, that which he could not obstruct without a Resolution above his natural Temper, and which he did not think could be safe at that Time. He was carry'd away with the Stream, and against his own Inclination put himself into the Hands of his Enemies, who oblig'd him to new-model his Council, and put into it most of the seditious Cabal, who only study'd how to Dethrone him. The Great Seal had been taken from *Shaftsbury* and given to *Finch*; and now in return that Rebel was made President of the Council. By this it will be easy to judge of the rest. This rais'd the Hopes of that Earl's Faction, especially when the King had assur'd the Parliament, that he would in a

1679.

*He offers
to tie up
the Hands
of his Suc-
cessor.*

things be advis'd by those new Counsellors, and in the weightiest Affairs would consult the two Houses.

His Majesty went further yet; for being resolv'd that no Innovation should be made in the Course of the Succession, he embrac'd the Medium suggested to him by a new Faction, which was rather opposite to *Shaftsbury* than favourable to the Duke of York. The Marquis of *Halifax's* Ambition, his Desire to rule, Envy to see *Shaftsbury* carry all in the Parliament, and preside in the King's Council, and perhaps some little good Inclination towards the publick Peace, had, as is believ'd by some, mov'd him to propose this Method of Accommodation. Whencesoever the Expedient came, the King gave the Parliament this further Demonstration of his earnest Desire to content them. His Majesty coming to the House of Peers on the 10th of *August*, and having sent for the Commons, order'd the Chancellor to tell them, that being resolv'd not to consent to alter the Succession, on any Pretence whatsoever, he was willing to consent, that they should take all the necessary Precautions, that in case he should have a Catholick Successor, there might be nothing left for the Protestant Religion to fear, or the Catholick to hope; that he therefore thought fit they should pass an Act, that in case his Successor was a Catholick, he should not have the Collation of Benefices, nor chuse his own Privy Council, nor appoint Judges, nor dispose of the Admiralty, nor the Governments of Provinces: That if there should happen to be a Parliament in being at the time of his Death, it should not be in the Power of his Catholick Successor to dissolve it, till a certain Time appointed; that if there were none then in being, the last which had been before should meet without any Summons; and in short, that they should themselves consider of any other safer, easier, and more effectual Means to secure the Protestant Religion against the Designs of a Catholick King, and he would readily concur with them.

These Advances of a Great Monarch towards giving his Subjects Satisfaction, very well deserv'd that they should at least abstain from giving him any further Provocation; but Condescensions from the Kings of *England* rarely obtain them any suitable Returns. King *Henry the 8th's* stern Behaviour always met with a blind Obedience, whereas hitherto the Goodness of the *Stuarts*

*The Eng-
lish not so
begrin'd by
Favours.*

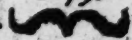
1679.

arts has met with nothing but Contradiction. These Offers of his Majesty, so advantageous to the Protestants, tho' they procur'd him their Thanks, yet purchas'd no Returns of Gratitude. Very few Days pass'd before the House of Commons read the Bill so long since contriv'd by *Shaftsbury* and his Party, for excluding of the Duke of *York* from the Succession. History ought to preserve the Memory of some Insolencies, that Posterity may shun them, rather than bring them as Examples for Imitation. The Contents of the Act were to this Effect.

The Bill of Exclusion. It suppos'd by way of Preamble, that Providence had deliver'd *England* and *Ireland* from the Slavery and Superstition of Popery, which by its dangerous Opinions had overturn'd the very Foundations of Christian Religion, and by dispensing with the Loyalty due from Subjects to their Kings, depriv'd Monarchs of the Authority God had given them over their Subjects. Next it was urg'd as Matter of Fact, that notwithstanding the Laws of the Nation, which had suppress'd the said Popery on account of its pernicious Principles, and wicked Attempts against the Lives of Sovereigns, the Emissaries of *Rome* had of late Years by their Artifices and Intrigues, with the Advice and Assistance of several foreign Princes and Prelates, contriv'd a Plot to murder the King, to alter the Government, to extirpate the Reformation, and to massacre all the Protestants. Then they proceeded to affirm, that the better to execute their Design, and encourage the Miscreants that had undertaken it, the Catholics had seduc'd *James Duke of York*, the presumptive Heir of the Crown, whom they had drawn over to their Communion, and prevail'd with to enter into several Negotiations with the Pope and with his Ministers, for advancing of the *Roman* Religion, and for the better supporting of it, and carrying on of their Design, they had, to the great Danger of the State, ask'd the Assistance of the King of *France*. They took it for granted, that the Conversion of the Duke of *York* had given Occasion to the Plot they had discover'd. Upon these Motives, said they, the Parliament having never had such powerful and pressing Reasons to make an extraordinary Use of their Legal Power, did enact by the King's Authority, and with the Advice of the Lords and Commons, 1. That *James Duke of York*, Al-

bary

1679.



Harry and Ulster, should be incapable of inheriting the Crowns of *England and Ireland*, with their Dependances, and of enjoying any of the Titles, Rights, Prerogatives and Revenues belonging to the said Crowns. 2. That in case his Majesty should happen to die, or to resign his Dominions, they should devolve to the Person next in Succession, in the same manner as if the Duke were dead. 3. That all Acts of Sovereignty and Royalty that Prince might then happen to perform, were not only declar'd void, but to be High Treason, and punishable as such. 4. That if any one, at any time whatsoever, should endeavour to bring the said Duke into either of the two Kingdoms, or their Dependances, or should correspond with him in order to make him Heir, or to have him proclaim'd King, he should be look'd upon as guilty of High Treason, and an Enemy to the Nation. 5. That if the Duke himself ever return'd into any of the Dependances of the Monarchy, considering the Troubles that must ensue, he should be himself look'd upon as guilty of the same Offence, and all Persons were authoriz'd and requir'd to seize upon and imprison him, and in case of Resistance made by him, his Followers or Adherents, to subdue them by Force of Arms.

Such was the monstrous Bill for excluding the Duke *Parliament* of *York* from the Succession. The King was amaz'd *prorogu'd* when he heard that the Commons had proceeded so far. *and dissolved.* He us'd all Arts to put them upon other Business, pressing them upon the urgent Necessities of the Nation; but all to no purpose, the more he endeavour'd to quell it, the more their Rage advanc'd. The Bill was read a second time, and they were proceeding to a third, in order to send it to the Lords, had not the King prorogu'd the Parliament. That Prorogation was carry'd on till *February, 1680.* when that Parliament was dissolved to make room for another.

1680:

The Interval between them was considerable enough *The Faction* to give Hopes at some Times, that the Minds of Men, *prevails.* grown weary of so many needless Commotions, would at length settle in Peace. But these Hopes prov'd vain; what Appearance there was of a Calm being the Effect of the Duke of *York's* Enemies Presumption, who being of the Privy Council at the same time that he was remote from the Court, thought themselves Masters of the

1680.

the Field, and took such Measures for carrying the Exclusion, as they thought could not fail them.

*The Duke
of York in
Scotland.*

The unexpected Return of that Prince however broke those Measures, and the Consequences of it much more. He came over upon the News of the King's being sick, and was with him before any Man thought he was to come. The King himself was surpriz'd at it, and afraid his Presence might disturb that false Peace that had flatter'd the Nation for some time. The Duke's Affection, and the Assurances he gave that he would go back, satisfy'd his Majesty, and confirm'd him in his Resolution of maintaining the due Course of Succession against all the Attempts of the Sectaries; and soon after he gave plain Demonstration of his Resolution. He suffer'd the Duke of *York* to go back, but being inform'd that the Duke of *Monmouth* was admitted into the factious Cabal, he remov'd and sent him away into *Holland*. Then considering that the Duke of *York*'s Residence in a foreign Country look'd somewhat like Banishment, he recall'd and sent him into *Scotland*, under Colour of settling Affairs there, the most essential part whereof was to gain him the Affections of that Nation, and secure it to his Interest. The Duke of *Monmouth* thereupon returning to Court, without having been recall'd, his Majesty, who look'd upon it as if he intended to stand in Competition with the lawful Heir, command-ed him to return. *Monmouth* refusing to obey, upon pretence that being under an Accusation, he ought either to be punish'd or clear'd, the King disgrac'd him, took away all his Places, and to compleat his Mortification, recall'd the Duke of *York* to Court.

*Returns to
Court.*

*Mon-
mouth
sets up
against
him.*

This put the opposite Faction into a Rage. The Lord *Ruffel*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Cavendish* desir'd to be discharg'd their Attendance at the Council Board, and yielded up their Places to others. Soon after the Earl of *Radnor* succeeded *Shaftsbury* in that of President. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s Adherents reviv'd the Pretences of his Mother's Marriage; several Papers were spread abroad to prove the King had been marry'd to her, and Libels made to perswade the People to it. *Shaftsbury* gave Information of a new Conspiracy of the Catholics in *Ireland*, upon which account *Plunket* Archbishop of *Armagh*, and the Earl of *Tyrone*, were secur'd, besides many others. Soon after *Shaftsbury* pre-

presented a Petition sign'd by several Lords, wherein representing the Duke of *York* as a Catholick, he magnify'd the Danger the Nation and Protestant Religion was in, from the Hopes the Catholicks had conceiv'd of seeing him on the Throne. The King was continually pester'd with other seditious Petitions, pressing him to call a Parliament, under colour of the Dangers that threatned the Kingdom from the Catholicks.

The Duke of *York's* Enemies never deny'd him the Honour of having seen all those Storms rise, with an Undauntedness becoming a Prince; and those who had any Familiarity with him, still declare, how much those Persecutions contributed towards making him a perfect Christian and Catholick. The Greatness of his Birth inspir'd him to assert his Right to the Crown with such Resolution, as amaz'd his Enemies; and his Constancy in Religion made him so much despise, as to run the Hazard of it, in case his Enemies should happen to prevail.

The King was not wanting to back his Brother's Courage, by his Resolution to keep him at Court, notwithstanding the Malice of the Protestants and factious Party; by his frequent Declarations in Council, which he caus'd to be recorded in all proper Courts, that he was never marry'd to the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother, and by many long Prorogations of the Parliament, tho' often petition'd to suffer it to sit. Could he have quite obstructed its meeting, he had sooner prevail'd; but the Siege the *Moors* had laid to *Tangier*, which had occasion'd the late Parliaments, was began again, after a Truce of some Months, not without Danger of that Place's falling into the Hands of those Infidels. His Majesty being in great want of Money to relieve it, resolv'd at last to convene the Parliament, after so many Prorogations.

The Duke of *York* prepar'd to maintain his Birth-right in that Assembly, with fresh Vigour, when the Marquis of *Halifax* and the Earl of *Sunderland* came to him from the King to desire he would again absent himself for a while, and return into *Scotland*, during the Session of the Parliament. This Request startled the Duke, who looking on it as the Effect of his Enemies Arts, that they might be the bolder in his Absence, as they had been before, express'd some Unwillingness to remove again.

1680.

again. He acquainted the King with it ; but his Majesty and his Ministers so fully convinc'd him of the Advantage of that Design to the Publick, and so solemnly promis'd never to consent to his Exclusion, that he once more set out for *Edinburgh* with his Family.

Where he
it highly
caress'd.

The different Condition of that Prince's Affairs, at the same Time, in the two Kingdoms, was very remarkable. In *Scotland* he was belov'd, respected by the Nobility, and admir'd by the Commonalty ; his Presence set all things in Order, and his Authority was so great, that never any King had more. There had been some Troubles, occasion'd by Phanatick *Presbyterians*, against whom the Duke of *Monmouth* had been sent, and dispers'd the Rebels ; but they had again of late rais'd some Commotions, the Consequences whereof were apprehended. The Duke of *York's* Vigilancy prevented them, and bating some few Vagabonds, who could never make Head, all was peaceable in the Kingdom during his Abode there. The *Scots* were so grateful, that they writ a Letter to the King, wherein after giving him Thanks for having sent his Royal Highness into *Scotland*, coming to the Point of the Succession, they abhor'd the seditious Practices of the Faction in *England*.

Parliament
pushes on
the Exclu-
sion.

Thus Providence temper'd that Prince's Life with Variety of Events, to enure him to undergo Prosperity and Adversity for those Ends God has design'd ; if not for the Conversion of his People, which is still retarded by their Sins ; yet at least for his own Salvation. Whilst in *Scotland*, he daily receiv'd fresh Testimonies of that People's Esteem, in *England* they persecuted him with more Fury than ever. None of the former Parliaments had express'd so much Ill-will and Malice towards him, as this which met on the 31st of *October*, 1680. *Shaftsbury* there push'd on his Designs in a fearful manner, the Duke of *Monmouth* carry'd on his own ; the Prince of *Orange's* Adherents forgot not to promote his Interest, and the Protestant Cabal, wherein the *Presbyterians* prevail'd, us'd such Means for excluding the Catholick Heir from the Throne, that it was generally believ'd they would carry it.

The King's
Speech.

The King open'd the new Parliament as he had done the former, exhorting them, in hopes of gaining the good Opinion of the Sectaries, to discover the Bottom
of

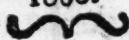
of a Plot he believ'd not himself; to put the Laws in Execution against Catholicks; to find Means to secure the Protestant Religion against their Designs; and at the same Time to think of securing *Tangier*, and of giving him a Supply for that and other pressing Wants he did not mention.

The Parliament was hotter upon the first Article of his Speech than he had wish'd; the Persecution against Catholicks was fiercely renew'd, and at this Time *William Howard*, Lord Vicecount *Stafford*, offer'd up his Noble Blood, often ally'd to that of Kings, in Testimony of the Truth of his Faith. That Lord by his Resolution made it appear, that the Protestants had mistaken their Choice of him for an Example of Weakness.

These Rigors against Catholicks, were always the Preparatives of the Faction towards some fresh Effort to exclude the Rightful Heir from the Crown, giving him out to be at least the Occasion of the fabulous Plots their Malice invented. So that how urgent soever the Necessities of the Monarchy were, and whatsoever Care the King took to inculcate them to the Parliament, the House of Commons still answer'd, That the first Thing to be done was to secure their Religion, his Majesty's Person, and the Laws, against the Designs of the Papists; that they would give no Money, either for *Tangier*, or the Fleet, till some Way were agreed on to deliver all true Protestants and *Englishmen* from their just Fears; and that there was but one that could secure the Nation from the Evils which threat'ned it, and was the excluding of the Duke of *York* from the Succession to the Crown, and depriving the Catholicks of the Hopes of ever seeing him on the Throne; without which whatsoever were contriv'd, or Precautions taken, there could be no Safety, either for Religion, or the Peace of the Kingdom.

Nor did they stop there; the Bill of Exclusion was trump'd up again; it was read Three Times in the House of Commons, pass'd by a Plurality of Votes, and sent up to the Lords, where of 66 Peers, 30 were for it and 36 rejected it, so that it was thrown out. The Lord *Russell*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, who had carry'd it up, with *Capel* and *Montague*, grew so hot upon this Disappointment as to say, That if his Father

1680.



had been one of those that refus'd to pass the Bill, he would have been the first Man that should impeach him of High Treason. Words very agreeable to a Phanatick Zeal; we shall soon see the Consequences of them.

*Furious
Proceedings of
the Com-
mons.*

The Disappointment given by the Lords did not discourage the Faction. Being fully perswaded, that most of those Peers who had rejected the Bill did it only to please the King, they apply'd themselves to prevail upon his Majesty's Resolution either by fair Means, or by Force. They made use of Women to gain him over, having corrupted them with great Sums of Money; which they look'd upon as an infallible double Contrivance to succeed. One of them cast herself at the King's Feet, to beg he would consent to exclude his Brother. This was making a dangerous Tryal of Brotherly Affection, upon a Prince so weak in that Particular as he was; however he withstood it, and thereby show'd that nothing could shake his Resolution. In order to use Force where Perswasions would not prevail, they would next have oblig'd him to turn out of his Council, the Marquises of *Halifax* and *Worcester*, and the Earls of *Clarendon*, *Feverham* and *Rocheſter*, as pernicious Counsellors, who confirm'd him in those Sentiments they reckned contrary to the Publick Good. Next, to bring him under a Necessity of continuing the Parliament, and make him wholly depend upon it, they endeavour'd to stop up all the Channels through which any Money could flow in to him, declaring all those Enemies to the sitting of the Parliaments, who should advance the King any Money upon any of the Branches of his Revenue, or take any of them in Payment.

*The Com-
prehenſion
Project.*

Those Hot Votes were not the most dangerous Engines they set at work to compel the Monarch to alter his Resolution; *Shaftsbury* found out another, the more likely to produce the intended Effect, as being the Product of a more refin'd and secret Policy. He had not forgot that formerly, in order to bring the Nonconformists into the same Interest with the Catholicks, he had advis'd to grant Liberty of Conscience to them all in General; now making use of the same Artifice, that all Protestants might find it their Interest to destroy the Catholicks, and so the Duke of *York*'s Exclusion from the Crown might be brought about, he projected an Union

among

among all the Nonconformist Sectaries, and the Church of *England*; and to bring it about, he put the House of Commons upon pressing the King to repeal all the Laws made by *Queen Elizabeth* against them. His Majesty perceiv'd what that tended to, and making a true Judgment upon the Occasion of that Demand, *The Parliament* first Prorogu'd and afterwards Dissolv'd the Parliament.

The Faction us'd all their Endeavours to fend off that unlucky Blow, which broke all their Measures; but without Success. The King having declar'd in Council his Resolution to dissolve the Parliament, the Earl of *Salisbury* spoke hotly to dissuade him. His Majesty made him no other Answer, but that he ask'd no Advice, and only made known his Will; whereupon that Earl asking his leave to withdraw from the Council Board, the King easily granted it, and a few Days after turn'd out himself, the Earls of *Essex* and *Sunderland*, Sir *William Temple*, and some others, who had been openest in declaring for the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*. *Sunderland* at the same Time had Orders to quit the Secretaries Office.

The Faction was doubly griev'd, when on the 28th of *January*, 1681, his Majesty having dissolv'd the Parliament, appointed another to meet at *Oxford* on the 31st of *March*. The Earl of *Essex* presented him a Petition at *Whitehall*, sign'd by 16 Lords, desiring he would not change the usual Place for Parliaments to meet; but the King held his own, and said, he had advis'd with above 30, who were of another Opinion.

His Majesty had pitch'd upon *Oxford* as a Place where he could be Superior, and Formidable to the Faction; but he did not reflect, that the Faction must be as sensible of that as himself, and would use such Precautions as might secure them in being as Refractory as they were at *Westminster*. They went farther still; and contriv'd to seize and oblige him to pass all they should demand. He was fortunately inform'd of it, and caus'd some Troops privately to be quarter'd about *Oxford*, to serve him in Time of Need. Whether they knew it or not, or whether they thought themselves strong enough to oppose the King's Forces, they hotly went on in their Enterprize, and the Heads of them came to *Oxford* with such numerous Trains of well-arm'd and resolute Men,

The History of the Revolutions in England,

that they appear'd there in a more audacious manner than they had done at *London*. *Shaftsbury* and *Salisbury* came with such a Retinue, as look'd more like a Brigade going upon some Expedition; the Duke of *Monmouth* was attended by 100 Horse, well equip'd and in good Order; the rest were all attended, suitable to the Figure they made in the Country and their Party. They had agreed at a certain Time, by way of Distinction, to wear in their Hats, or on their Swords, blew Ribbands, with these Words wove in them, *No Popery, no Slavery*; being resolv'd at first to proceed in Form, and to try to prevail by Perswasion, before they came to open Violence. The House of Commons was made up of the same sort of Persons as the last, and most of them were the very same. The Presbyterians still prevail'd, and *Shaftsbury* was their Chief. This was soon discover'd. The Parliament being open'd after the usual manner, the Speeches made, and the Speaker chosen, all the seditious Matters were again brought upon the Stage, and chiefly those relating to the Exclusion; so that his Majesty, by their way of falling on, perceiv'd the Boldness of the Faction was so far from abating, that it was now grown up to the Height. Having therefore concerted his Measures, without acquainting any but a very few of his Confidants, he resolv'd to put a Period to all those Intrigues, which grew daily more dangerous, by putting an End to Parliaments, which instead of supporting him, were pernicious to his Authority and Government. This Parliament had not sat above 8 Days, before the King came to it in his Robes, so unexpectedly that none of the Faction could guess at his Meaning, where with a compos'd Countenance, as became what he had in hand, he said, *Your manner of Proceeding these first Days, does not encourage me to hope any better Issue of this Parliament, than I have had of so many others I have call'd, without reaping any other Advantage, than discovering the Evil Designs of those that are for raising Troubles in the Kingdom; and therefore, to the End they may not give a Sanction to Rebellion with the Name of a Parliament, I have thought fit to dissolve this.* No sooner were these Words spoken, than leaving the House, and soon after the Town, he went to lye that Night at *Windsor*, and the next Day return'd to *London*, before the Faction, astonish'd at a Blow

*They are
dissolv'd.*

Blow that broke all their Measures, could recover themselves.

The King's Views.

This resolute Action, so wisely manag'd, sav'd the Monarchy. His Majesty's Eyes being open'd at last, he concluded some Effort must be made, to supply for some Time the urgent Necessities of the Kingdom, by some other way than Parliamentary Supplies, that he might not be oblig'd in hast to call another, which he could no better manage than he had done the others before, and might perhaps be expos'd to greater Dangers; for he could expect no better from those Assemblies, which were always govern'd by the Faction, and compos'd of Persons debauch'd to favour their Designs; and therefore he must put them out of the Possession they were in of disposing of Elections to their own Mind, remove the Magistrates on whom they depended, and reform many enormous Abuses, which under Colour of maintaining the People's Liberties, made them Instrumental to overthrow the Regal Authority; and as soon as there should be no more Parliaments to authorize seditious Attempts, the Factions would begin to fear, and vanish insensibly, tho' it were only for the Trouble of keeping them up; that if the worst hap'n'd, they being able to hurt him no other Way but by those Strokes against which none but Providence can secure Kings, there was nothing more to fear, but those Dangers, which are common to all Men, and against which Princes are better secur'd than others; that the People would have Leisure to recover from the ill-grounded Apprehension they had been put into of arbitrary Power; of a Government contrary to Law, of a violent Change of Religion, and the Chimerical Attempts ascrib'd to the Catholicks for anticipating the Duke of York's Reign, and which had no other Basis but the hypocritical Zeal of those, who under Colour of Religion design'd to overthrow the Monarchy, by breaking in upon the Course of the Succession, which is its main Foundation; that the Minds of Men thus settling, as they were undeceiv'd, Reason, the Love of Peace, the Publick Good, and their own private Interest would bring them to their Duty, to Submission, and Order; that Parliaments then call'd according to Law and ancient Usage, would be serviceable both to the People and the Prince; without pretending to be imperious Sovereigns.

as

1681. as they had done ; but contented to be what they really were, respectful Mediators between the King and his Subjects.

*The King's
Declara-
tion.*

These were his Majesty's Thoughts, and the Event show'd him to be in the Right. No sooner did it appear that he was resolv'd to proceed without a Parliament, but he became absolute, and the four last Years of his Life may be most properly call'd those of his Reign. He first made his Intentions known by a well-penn'd Declaration, wherein, after giving the World an Account of the Reasons that had induc'd him to dissolve the late Parliaments, whose irregular Proceedings only tended to disturb the Nation ; he signify'd he would frequently call others, at the same Time insinuating, without explaining himself, that he should not summon any very soon. Every Body understood him, and all Men concluding that he was like to carry his Point, there was not a Corporation, not a County, nor a Body Politick, but what press'd forward to return him Thanks for his Care of the publick Peace ; the very Watermen on the *Thames* presented him an Address, sign'd

Addressees.
1682.

by 2000 of them, to express their Loyalty. Sir *Patience Ward*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and Sheriff *Cornish*, both famous for Sedition, still gave him some Trouble, the City being govern'd by those factious Magistrates ; but his Majesty soon manag'd them, and when their Time was out caus'd others that were submissive to him to be substituted in their Places. The same he did in the Courts of Justice, where the unjust Judges, who had condemn'd so many innocent Persons, only to please their Enemies, were remov'd. Nor did he stop there ; the Disorders in the late Parliaments originally proceeding from the Abuses Corporations committed for want of understanding their Charters, which they made use of in chusing such Members of the House of Parliament as were agreeable to the Factions that govern'd them, the King issu'd out *Quo Warranto's* against them. This is a Right the King has of examining those Abuses, and taking away the Charters of Priviledges of those Places that have made ill Use of them. The Corporations are allow'd to stand Tryal ; that of *London* was long depending, but at last given for the King ; the Charter of that Metropolis was surrender'd, and his Majesty gave them a new one, by which he secur'd to himself the

Choice

Choice of the Mayor, and Aldermen, and consequently of the Elections of Parliament Men. Many other Towns had the same Fate; some resign'd up their Charters, without contending, and had others granted them, as he thought convenient.

He went farther yet. The Presbyterians had for a long Time been the Upholders of all Factions, if not the Ringleaders. His Majesty undertook to reduce them, and that the Methods us'd might be liable to no Exception, reviv'd the Laws made by Queen *Elizabeth* against Nonconformists, and took Care they should be exactly put in Execution. Some Opposition was made; every now and then Information was given, that they assembled together, in contradiction to the Laws and Magistrates, but they were so closely observ'd, and the King so well serv'd, that those Conventicles were dispers'd without interrupting the Publick Peace.

His Majesty still advancing as his Authority prevail'd, he proceeded so far as to raise some Forces. The Number of them was not very great, but he took care to have those few so well disciplin'd, that they were sufficient to strike a Terror. One of the Means that contributed most towards that Regulation was the Regimenting of them, as consisting before, for the most part, especially in *Ireland*, of independent Companies, which had no Subordination. The demolishing of *Tangier*, which he abandon'd, after a Treaty, to save the Nation a Charge, that yielded little Return, reinforc'd his little Army with the Garrison of that Place.

The Thing he proceeded in slowest, and wherein he seem'd still to hold on his former Course, was the Neglect of doing Justice to the Catholics, so wrongfully oppress'd by the late Parliaments. Some Blood was still spilt. Archbishop *Plunket* was put to death upon the false Imputations of the Enemies of his Religion; but he was the last. His Majesty suffer'd the Judges to act in that Particular, without interposing, and there the Persecution ended. It may truly be said, that those Persons the Protestants had made use of to raise it against the Catholics, destroy'd one another, without any Help from others. Those Witnesses brib'd by the Faction to ruin so many innocent Men, convicted one another of so much Falshood, so much Perjury, and such

1682.

Dissemers prosecuted.

1682:

1683.

1684.

The Forces regulated.

Plunket executed.

1682.

1683.

1684.

Fitz-Harris and Colledge. Oats.

Lords in the Tower discharg'd.

Shaftsbury Convicted of the Plot.

Ignoramus Fury.

such horrid Slander, that all Men were forc'd to believe them whether they would or no, and the Judges, tho' Protestants, to do Justice. *Fitz-Harris, Colledge,* and such like Monsters ended their Lives by the Hands of the Executioner. *Oats*, tho' the greatest Villain of them all, found Favour enough to be only confin'd; but God reserv'd him for another Punishment, which any other Man had dreaded more than Death, being condemn'd in the next Reign to stand in the Pillory four Times a Year, and so expos'd to the View of the World as a notable Instance of the Misery a long Habit of Wickedness brings a Man to. The Punishment of those Miscreants, made way for the discharging of those Catholic Lords the Parliament had committed to the Tower. Yet they proceeded very cautiously in that Particular, the Judges being loath to interfere where the Parliament had been concern'd. The Earl of *Castlemain*, twice clear'd and committed to the Tower, yet taken up again upon fresh false Depositions, having made his Escape, had at last left the Kingdom; the others were discharged with the Earl of *Danby*, a little before the End of the Reign; his Majesty still affecting to appear zealous for the Religion of the Country.

The Shame of those Crimes which had dishonour'd the *English* Nation did not fall altogether upon mean Wretches; he who had been the principal Author of all began to be look'd after, upon the Testimony of those very Persons he had employ'd to commit those Enormities. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was charg'd by them with suborning of Witnesses against the Earl of *Stafford*, the Duke of *York*, and the Queen, as being concern'd in the pretended Popish Plot against the King; and their Depositions imported, that he had himself conspir'd against his Majesty, in order to seize his Person, and oblige him to consent to all that his Faction should demand. Upon this Evidence, which was not so certain a Proof of his Offence as his Behaviour had been, he was committed to the Tower, with the Lord *Howard of Esrick* his Compplotter. They were brought off by the Contrivance of their Party, who pack'd a Jury, all chosen by a Sheriff of the Faction, and they clear'd them. His Majesty, besides the Mortification of seeing the mortal Enemy of the Royal Family thus escape the Punishment he deserv'd, had that of hearing the Acclamations of the People,

1682.

1683.

1684.



ple, which made *London* ring, upon the acquitting of that Man, they were fond of, for bearing the Name of the Protestant Earl. This Disgust was sweetned by two Advantages the King gain'd by it; the one was the forwarding the Success of the *Quo Warranto*, the corrupt Verdicts of Juries being one Consequence of the Abuse of the Cities Liberties, and the Right the Sheriffs claim'd of returning them; the other, that the seditious Project propos'd to the House of Commons in one of the last Parliaments for a general Association of all Protestants throughout the Kingdom, to favour the Designs of *Shaftsbury's* Party, being found among that Earl's Papers seiz'd, when he was himself secur'd, all *England* disclaim'd that factious Association, and all Corporations again address'd the King, to express their Abhorrence of it.

Whilst his Majesty was retrieving the Regal Authority in *England*, the Duke of *York* upheld it in *Scotland*, with such Vigour and Wisdom, as disappointed the Designs of his Enemies. He there subdu'd the Fanaticks.

Rebels routed in Scotland.

One *Caryl* having gather'd a Number considerable enough to appear in Arms, and compose a Body, with some others, calling themselves *Sweet Singers of Israel*, the Duke sent some Forces, who pursu'd and routed them on the Mountains, whither they were withdrawn; their Ringleader was taken, and executed as a Rebel. His Highness took a Journey to *London*, which had like to have cost the Nation dear; for the King sending him back to hold the Parliament, he narrowly escap'd being cast away with the Vessel that carry'd him. Sir -----

The Duke's Escape at Sea.

Hyde, Brother to the first Dutchess of *York*, and many more, were drown'd. The Captain was try'd, that Misfortune being occasion'd by his Positiveness, and he was banish'd.

That Danger redoubled the Affection of the *Scots* towards the Duke, and there is no expressing how they endeavour'd to testify it at his Landing. His Behaviour in the Parliament, which met soon after, more closely link'd them to him. He there maintain'd the Regal Authority with as much Dignity as became the Heir of it; and it may be truly said, that no King of *Scotland* ever carry'd it higher; and yet he manag'd it so dextrously, as to meet with no Opposition, but what was necessary for the strengthening of that he was about to establish.

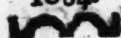
Parliament of Scotland.

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1682.

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1684.



'Argyle
outlaw'd.

establiſh. The Lord *Belhaven* made ſome Objection to the Means the Duke propos'd for ſecuring the Religion of the Country, which that Nobleman did not think ſufficient. He was committed, and had been brought to a Trial, but that a ſpeedy Repentance made his Offence be thought pardonable. The Earl of *Argyle* from that time began the Rebellion, which brought him into ſo many Miſfortunes, by reſuſing to ſign the *Scotts* Teſt, the Presbyterian Fanaticks of his Party being averſe to it. The Parliament ſeiz'd him, and he having made his Eſcape, proceeded to outlaw and condemn him. Another ſort of Proteſtants making a difficulty of that Oath, as containing an antient Profeſſion of Faith of King *James*, which did not ſute with theirs, the Duke reconcil'd that Difference by an Expoſition of it, which ſatisfy'd them all. The Acts paſſ'd by that Parliament were advantageous both to the King and his Subjects. A conſiderable Subſidy was granted him during his Life, and for five Years after to his Succeſſor. The Succeſſion was declar'd to belong of Right to the Duke of *York*, and not transferable to any other on any Pretence whatſoever. Laws were enacted for regulating of Trade, and for the Peace of Families, which have been approv'd by their good Conſequences. After the Receſs of the Parliament, the Duke being inform'd that ſtill ſome Bodies of Fanaticks were ſeen at times, he order'd them to be chaſ'd and diſpers'd; then having viſited *Sterlin*, *Dumbarton*, and ſome other Places, he was recall'd by the King, who thought his Preſence conducing to their common Intereſt.

'Addreſſes
againſt the
Excluſion.

His Highneſs found a conſiderable Change in Affairs; being receiv'd in all Places, not only with Reſpect, but with many Expreſſions of Joy. Addreſſes were preſented to the King, abhorring the Excluſion, and the two Universities ſolemnly declar'd, that his Highneſs's Religion was no legal Cauſe to break in upon the Order of Succeſſion.

Faction de-
clines.

All things ſeem'd to promiſe a laſting Peace to thoſe Princes, who ſo ſucceſſfully ſtrove to give it to the People. Many of their Enemies had deſerted the Faction: ſome of the powerfull'eſt were dead, as the Earl of *Salisbury* in *England*, and the Earl of *Manchester* in *France*; and the Ringleader of all, the famous Earl of *Shaftsbury*, being fled into *Holland*, had ended his Days there. The

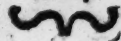
King

King and the Duke thought themselves at Peace, and pleasantly enjoy'd the Fruits of their good Conduct, when they perceiv'd, that the wisest Management in the World cannot deliver even Kings from the Dangers that are common to all Men, unless God watches over them, and interposes.

1682.

1683.

1684.



Shaftsbury's Crimes did not end with his Days; but were continu'd after his Death, with the Addition of new ones. Ever since the *Oxford* Parliament, where their Design was to seize the King, and compel him to pass the Exclusion of his Brother, they had continu'd that traiterous Resolution, and observ'd all Opportunities of putting it in Execution. On the annual Festival in memory of *Queen Elizabeth*, *Shaftsbury* had propos'd to the Duke of *Monmouth*, whom he had engag'd in his wicked Designs, still flattering him with the Hopes of a Crown, to embrace that Opportunity, and go attack *Whitehall*. This he concluded would be an easy Matter, because they should be follow'd by the Multitude gather'd together, and in a Commotion upon that rejoicing. The very Nature of the Festival seem'd proper to put them into that Humour, if it were but never so slightly insinuated to them, that they were going upon an Enterprize to secure the Religion of *Queen Elizabeth*, whose Memory they were then honouring. As brave as the Duke was, he thought that a rash Undertaking. He told the Earl, that the King was in a good Posture of Defence, that he had Guards and other Men of Honour about him, who would never be forc'd by a Rabble arm'd after a tumultuous manner; and if they fail'd in that Undertaking, there was no Way to get off; besides, that to venture upon such Enterprizes on Uncertainties was running upon infallible Destruction. The wicked *Shaftsbury* was not convinc'd by those Reasons, but answer'd, That the Success of the Attempt he propos'd was not so uncertain as the Duke imagin'd; that they should have many Men kill'd, but enough would remain to tire out the Slayers, and they should at last prevail. The Duke had some Hopes, which prevented his embracing that desperate Course. He positively oppos'd it, and the thing was put off to a better Opportunity. *Shaftsbury* was forc'd to submit; but perceiving that the Time was still delay'd, and that as the Faction grew strong in Numbers, there was the more Danger of

Queen Elizabeth's Birth-day:

Shaftsbury's desperate Design:

1682.

1683.

1684.

*His Death
Rye-house
Plot.*

of the Secrer's being betray'd, he press'd once more, and appointed a Day for the Execution. The thing was debated, and a farther Delay resolv'd, whereupon the Earl fled into *Holland*, where he dy'd three Months after.

The Conspirators were not discourag'd at the Loss of their Chief, and their Projects increasing as they multiply'd in Number, they confin'd not themselves long to the Design of securing the King; they propos'd to themselves nothing less than raising a Rebellion in *England* and *Scotland*, changing the whole Government, and imbruing their wicked Hands in the Blood of their Sovereign, and his lawful Heir. Such was the Scheme of the too real and true Conspiracy of those Slanderers of the Catholics. A Protestant Bishop (*Dr. Sprat*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*) has writ the History of it upon as authentic Testimonies, as the Memoirs compos'd by some *French* Refugees of the Plot invented by *Oats*, are false and unworthy of the Publick.

*All Sects
in it.*

Never was any Conspiracy compos'd of such Variety of Conspirators; tho' the *Presbyterians* were predominant yet there were some of almost all Sects concern'd in it: there were *English* and *Scots*; Persons of Quality, Citizens and Handicrafts; Republicans, and some that were for Monarchy, and tho' they would dethrone the Royal Family, were willing to preserve the Throne and Regal Dignity. Thus it appears they had not all the same Designs, and that some were not altogether so deep in Wickedness as others. We have cause to think so, from the last Words of many of them. The Duke of *Monmouth* always deny'd he had any hand in the Plot for murdering of the King. An Account publish'd by his Majesty's Order for publick Information, testifies this Difference, and tells us, that after the Earl of *Shaftsbury* withdrew

*Chief Con-
spirators.*

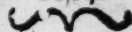
into *Holland*, his Accomplices, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Russel*, the Lord *Grey*, *Wark*, the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*, *Algernon Sidney*, *John Hambden*, and other *English*, in conjunction with the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Melvil*, *Montgomery*, *Ferguson* the Contriver of all Plots, and other Fanatic *Scots*, went on in the Design they had concerted with their Chief, of raising an universal Rebellion throughout both the Kingdoms, and to that purpose dispers'd their Emissaries into several Parts; that at the same time another Gang of more desperate Villains, most of them

Oliv

1682.

1683.

1684.



Executions

K. Charles

dies.

1685.

Oliverians, carrying the wicked Contrivance higher still, had resolv'd to post themselves in the House of one *Richard Rumbold*, call'd the *Rye*, on the *Newmarket* Road, by which the King and the Duke were to pass in their Return to *London*, and there to murder them both; that all things were prepar'd for that Assassination on the Day appointed by his Majesty and his Highness to come to *London*; but that an accidental Fire happening at *Newmarket*, the Court was oblig'd to come away sooner than had been intended; that the said unexpected Accident prevented the Conspirators; that they nevertheless, not dismayed, waited for some other Opportunity, till in the mean while *Keeling*, one of their own Gang, discover'd them: And thus not only the Assassimators, but those concern'd in the intended Rebellion, being discover'd, several fled, but others being taken, try'd and convicted, suffer'd the Punishment they deserv'd; that *Russel* and *Sidney* were of the latter; the Earl of *Essex* in despair cut his own Throat in the *Tower*; that the King pardon'd some, among whom was the Duke of *Monmouth*; but that restless Spirit, so easy to be led to Evil, becoming unworthy of that Favour by such a Behaviour as shew'd his Repentance was not sincere, he was necessitated to fly into *Holland* to his Accomplices, who were gone over before.

This was the Event of a Conspiracy, the Discovery whereof was an Effect of the Divine Providence watching over King *Charles* the 2^d, and his Brother the Duke of *York*. The Catholicks might have had Matter enough to insult over their Enemies, were they not brought up in a School, which teaches them to sigh at Sins, and not to insult over Sinners. This was the last Danger King *Charles* was in from the frequent Conspiracies of his Subjects against him; for he dy'd soon after, in the Bosom of the Catholick Church, which he did not leave in, because of his natural Love of Ease, and for fear of interrupting his Pleasures. In other respects he was a Prince abounding in Sense, of excellent Behaviour; courteous, amiable, so well spoken, that he has the Commendation of having never said any thing amiss; might have been added, that he never acted amiss, and his Passions permitted him to have acted according to his Knowledge. He dy'd on the 6th of *February*, 1685.

with the Honour of having, as much as in him lay, redress'd

T

dress'd

1685.

dress'd the Troubles about the Succession, occasion'd by his yielding Temper, and to have retriev'd all by his Resolution to secure it to his lawful Heir the Duke of York; who after so much Opposition found himself peaceably possess'd of the Throne the very Moment it fell to him.

K. James II. proclaim'd.

Few Princes have ascended the Throne with more Applause and general Joy of the People, than this last King of Great Britain, the 2d of the Name in England, and the 7th in Scotland, where he is the 13th of the Family of the Stuarts. No sooner were his Predecessor's Eyes clos'd, than he was proclaim'd, and all Men strove to be foremost in paying their Duty to him. Great Rejoycings were at London, at Edinburgh, and at Dublin, the three Capitals of those Kingdoms, follow'd by all other Places, wherein Affection seem'd to be more prevalent than Duty.

His Speech in Council. The first Actions of the new King confirm'd the good Inclinations of his Subjects, and the Speech he made to his Council, highly oblig'd them, being to this effect: *Before I enter upon any Business, I have thought fit to declare, and acquaint you; that since it has pleased God I should be Successor to a Brother, who had so tender an Affection for me, and to so good and merciful a King, I shall endeavour to follow his Example, and particularly in the sincere Love he had for his Subjects. I have been represented to the World as a Man of Arbitrary Principles; that is not the only Wrong that has been done me; but my Behaviour shall destroy that Slander. I shall use all my Endeavours to preserve the Government both in Church and State, as it is by Law establish'd. I know the Church of England is well affected to Monarchy, and that the Members of it have on several Occasions approv'd themselves loyal Subjects. I shall take particular Care to support and defend it. I am also convinc'd, that the Laws of this Kingdom are sufficient to make a King as great as I desire to be; and as I design to maintain the Prerogatives of the Crown, so will I never go about to take from others what is their Due. I have often ventur'd my Life in defence of the Nation, and am still ready to expose it for the Maintenance of its just Rights.*

The Coronation.

This short Speech was extraordinary pleasing; it look'd natural, great, and at the same time complaisant, which had much Influence on the Minds of all Men,

Men, and made every Individual strive to add to the Lustre of the Coronation, which was perform'd on St. George's Day, with the usual Ceremonies, but with such a solemn publick Joy, and Acclamations, that the like had scarce been seen before.

1685.

The calling of the two Parliaments of *England* and *Sessions of Scotland* at the same time, perfected the Satisfaction of both Nations, which they testify'd by such Compliances as few Kings had met with. That of *Scotland*, where the Duke of *Queensberry* presided as Lord Commissioner, Grants of anner'd to the Crown for ever the Revenue of Excise, the Scots. which had been given King *Charles* only for his Life, and granted King *James* a Subsidy of 216000 Pounds Sterling. That of *England* did more. Besides the settled Revenues of the Crown, which the Parliament confirm'd in the same manner as his Brother had them before, they without any Contest assign'd him a sufficient Supply for the present Necessities, and that so generously, so ready, and so unanimously, that his Majesty assur'd them, the Manner of it was more pleasing to him than the Thing it self. It was propos'd to stigmatize those who in the late Parliaments had voted for his Exclusion; but one of the Secretaries of State declar'd, that his Majesty had pardon'd all Offences committed against him when he was Duke of *York*, which Piece of Generosity added much to his Honour. The Catholick Lords, and the Earl of *Danby*, who had come out of the *Tower* about the latter End of the last Reign, being still upon Bail, the Parliament clear'd them, and at the same time restor'd the Earl of *Stafford*. Some were for addressing the King to put the Laws in Execution against all Nonconformists in general; but that Proposal was rejected, and it was agreed to trust to his Majesty's Word given at his first Accession to the Throne, and reiterated at the opening of the Parliament, that he would maintain the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd.

Of the English.

That Assembly was in too good a Humour of pleasing Argyle the King, not to give him some singular Tokens of their Zeal, upon the News then brought of the Rebellion of the Earl of *Argyle* in *Scotland*, and the Invasion by the Duke of *Monmouth* in *England*. They were both declar'd guilty of High Treason, and both attainted according to Custom. Those Affairs requiring all his Ma-

1685

jeſty's Attention; he prorogu'd his Parliament to the 14th of *Auguſt*, hoping that Interval would be ſufficient to put an End to thoſe Troubles.

Prince of
Orange
ſupports
the Duke
of Mon-
mouth.

His late Maſteſty King *Charles* was very ſenſible that the Duke of *Monmouth's* reſtleſs Temper would occaſion new Troubles in the Nation, eſpecially after he underſtood, that being retir'd into *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange* and the States ſhow'd him much Countenance. His Maſteſty had made his Complaint, but to little Purpoſe. The Prince of *Orange* ſtill did the Duke of *Monmouth* much Honour, and order'd his Troops to ſalute him at Reviews, when he happen'd to be preſent. The King had forbid it to thoſe he had in the Service of the States by Mr. *Chudley*, then Miniſter at the *Hague*; which the Prince took ſo ill, that he was in a Paſſion with *Chudley*, who had given thoſe Orders to the Officers, without acquainting him, and threatned him, liſting up his Hand. That Miniſter complain'd to his Maſter, who was ſo highly offended at it, that he forbid him ſeeing the Prince. This was the Poſture of Affairs, when K. *James* ſucceeding his Brother in the Throne, attempted to get away the Duke of *Monmouth* privately, whoſe Ambition that Prince foreſaw would ſooner or later give him ſome Trouble. The thing was not ſo privately manag'd, but that the Prince of *Orange* had notice of it, and immediately ſent to acquaint the Duke of *Monmouth* by his Favourite and Confident *Bentink*, adviſing him to withdraw to *Brussels*, and furniſhing him with Money. One of the firſt things the new King did upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, was to let the Prince of *Orange* know, how deſirous he was rather to live towards him as a Father, than as an Ally and neighbouring King. This ought to have cauſ'd a right Underſtanding between that Prince and the Court of *England*; but the Intelligence kept up between *Bentink* and *Monmouth*, certain Proofs whereof were found by *Skelton*, who ſucceeded *Chudley*, in ſome Papers ſeiz'd in the Duke's Houſe, gave that Miniſter juſt Cauſe of Jealouſy. The Conſequence ſhow'd him to be in the right.

Mon-
mouth
with the
Troyors in
Holland.

The Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland* met with all that could conduce to ſharpſen the Diſcontent he brought out of *England*, and to encourage his Ambition of aſpiring to a Crown. All thoſe that had eſcap'd from Juſtice, after the Diſcovery of the Fanatick Plot, flock'd about him,

him, and it is easy to guess that such a Gang of Outlaws did not advise him to his Duty. The Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Grey*, *Ferguson*, *Rumbold* and many others, continually dictated their own Sentiments to him. *Argyle*, *Rumbold*, and some others, would have him change Monarchical Government into a Commonwealth; *Grey*, *Ferguson*, and their Gang, would have him be King, and flatter'd his Ambition with all that is charming and attractive in a Crown. The Duke had long since resolv'd what he was to do in that Point; his Heart was bent upon a Throne; but he dissembled with those that were against it, and so dexterously impos'd upon *Argyle*, as to perswade him he was as much a Republican as himself; and being thus agreed among themselves, the Earl promis'd his Endeavours to raise a Rebellion in *Scotland*, where he had a vast Estate in Land, a numerous Family, and many Friends. *Holland* was the properest Place to arm upon such a Design, either in regard of the Disposition the *Dutch* had long been in towards the King of *England*, or because the Prince of *Orange*, whom it is believ'd *Monmouth* still promis'd to Enthroned, had a mind to embrace that Opportunity. The Pretence of Religion seem'd to be a never-failing Means to stir up the Zealous, and Seditious Protestants in *England*, as soon as any Troops from abroad should appear.

It is not well known how far that Project was advanc'd, or was intended to be put in Execution, when the Duke went to *Brussels*; but it is certain that his Absence retarded it very little. Notwithstanding Mr. *Skelton*'s pressing Instances to the States General, pursuant to his Master's Orders, for expelling the *English* Rebels who were plotting there, out of their Dominions, there still remain'd enough to provide Shipping, which the Duke of *Monmouth* found ready, when the Marquis de *Grana*, at the Instance of his *British* Majesty, having oblig'd him to depart *Brussels*, that Duke return'd privately into *Holland*, and lay incognito there. Whatsoever Care the Rebels took to conceal their Preparations, Mr. *Skelton*, a zealous, and vigilant Man, discover'd them and made his Complaint. But he was deceiv'd; the particular Ports he had mention'd were order'd to be guarded, but Notice was privately given to the Parties concern'd to make use of others. Thus the Rebels sail'd out of the Ports of *Holland* without any Obstruction,

1685.

the Earl of *Argyle* in *May*, with 3 Ships for *Scotland*, and *Monmouth* in *June*, with the same Number for *England*.

Argyle
lands in
Scotland.

His De-
claration.

The Earl setting out first, was also the first at landing, and by his speedy Defeat gave a good Omen of entire Success to the King's Arms over the Rebels. This Irruption was rather like an Effort of a Gang of Robbers than a War. *Argyle* having attempted to land in the North of *Scotland*, and being disappointed by the Vigilancy of the Bishop of the *Orcades*, landed in the West, and first incamp'd at *Dunstaffne* Castle, in the Province of *Lorn*, which had belong'd to him. He omitted nothing that might draw over to him all the Malecontents in the Kingdom, whom he thought more numerous than they appear'd to be. He dispers'd about his Declarations, wherein, after protesting that he had taken up Arms only in Defence of Religion and the Laws, against an unjust Usurper, so he stil'd the King, he invited all good Protestants, and such *Scots* as would assert their Liberties to joyn him against a Prince, he said, was got into the Throne, to ruin the Reformation, and to bring in Popery and Arbitrary Power. Next he sent Letters to those he thought his Friends, to call them to his Assistance. He detach'd two of his Sons, to make Inroads in the Neighbourhood, and compel some by Threats and others by mighty Promises to joyn him. All his Contrivances could not raise him above 3000 Men, with whom he incamp'd in the Isle of *Boat*, where he was soon in a manner besieg'd by the Earl of *Dunbarton*, with the King's Forces, and several other Bodies commanded by the Duke of *Gordon*, the Marquis of *Athol*, the Earl of *Arran*, and other great Men, who came from all Parts to quench the Fire, before it grew to a Head.

He forti-
fies.

Argyle, being oblig'd to quit a Post he could not make good, went over into a Part of the Country of his own Name, where having hastily fortify'd a Castle call'd *El-lin-rey*, he put into it the Arms and Ammunition taken out of his Ships, which lay at Anchor under the Canon of a Fort he erected near that Place. There his Rout began; for going out from the Castle with his Forces, to make an Incurſion, one of his Parties was defeated by the Marquis of *Athol*, who slew 400 of his Men; and Captain *Hamilton*, who attack'd his Ships, with some

His Ships
taken.

some of the King's, took them without any Resistance. The Earl of *Dunbarton* advancing towards him, at the same Time, by long Marches, whilst he endeavour'd to secure himself by Rivers, surpriz'd him passing the *Clyde*, in the Village of *Killern*, as he was marching towards *Lenox*. *Dunbarton* coming upon them at Night, would have staid till the next Day to attack the Rebels, but they gave him not so much Time, for they pass'd the River in the Night, in such Confusion, that being overcome with Fear, they dispers'd as soon as over. *Argyle* Himself routed. could scarce rally so many as would make him a small Guard, which was soon scatter'd again; *Dunbarton* having pass'd the River, and divided his Forces to pursue those that fled. *Argyle* had taken Guides to conduct him to *Galloway*; but they mistaking the Way, and leading him into a Bog, most of those that still follow'd him, quitted their Horses, every Man shifting for himself. *Argyle* himself was making back alone towards the *Clyde*, when two resolute Servants, belonging to an Officer in the King's Army, meeting him, tho' they knew him not, bid him surrender. He fir'd at and miss'd them; but they took better Aim, and wounded him with a Pistol Ball. Then the Earl drawing his two Pistols out of the Holsters, quitted his Horse that was quite tir'd, and took the River. A Country Fellow, who came with those two that had first assaulted him, pursu'd him with a Pistol in his Hand; the Earl would have fir'd one of his, but the Flint failing, he was dangerously Is wounded and taken. wounded in the Head by the Peasant. He discover'd himself as he fell Senseless, crying out, *Unfortunate Argyle*. They made haste to draw out, and bring him to himself; after which being deliver'd up to the Officers, he was conducted to *Edinburgh* and beheaded. Beheaded. Thus ended his wretched Days, *Archibald Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*; nor could he expect to end them better, being tainted with that Spirit of Rebellion, he had inherited from his Father, one of *Cromwell's* Adherents, and a resolute Republican till his Death, which he underwent in the same City, in the Year 1661, for crowning all his Attempts against King *Charles* the First, by obstinately opposing the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second. *Richard Rumbold*, who had follow'd the Earl, Rumbold taken and hang'd. was taken with him; being the Owner of the House where the Conspirators were to have murder'd the late King.

1685.

King, at his Return from *Newmarket*, and himself one of the prime Contrivers of that Villany. He was hang'd at *Edinburgh*, at the same Time that the Earl was be-headed. It is said, they were both much surpriz'd, when inform'd, after their Defeat, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, after his landing in *England*, had caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King; he having, as they said, promis'd to concur with them in changing the Monarchy into a Commonwealth.

Prince of
Orange's
Practices.

Mon-
mouth
proclaim'd
King.

They were not the only Persons concern'd at that Declaration of the Duke of *Monmouth*; the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd the News of it with much Indignation, and by his Way of speaking of that Duke gave greater Occasion to believe he had been impos'd upon by him, as well as others. The Actions of Politicians being always liable to Suspicion, the Prince of *Orange* upon this Occasion counterfeited such a sort of Zeal for the King his Father-in-law, as the *English* Minister at the *Hague* could put no good Construction upon. The News was brought that *Monmouth*, who had landed at *Lyme*, was advanc'd with an Army of about 5 or 6000 Men into *Somersetshire*, where after publishing his Declarations, expressing his Designs in behalf of Religion and the Publick Good, and causing himself to be proclaim'd King, he had resolv'd to fight the Lawful King's Forces, that were marching towards him, under the Command of the Earl of *Feverham*. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* told Mr. *Skelton*, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, tho' a Man of mean Parts, had a Warlike Genius, and knew more of it than most of those that were sent against him; that he intended to assist the King his Father-in-law upon that Occasion, not only with his Forces, but in Person, and would cross the Sea, to head the Royal Army, and fight the Duke of *Monmouth*; whereupon the Prince dispatch'd *Bentink* to make that Offer to his Majesty. *Skelton* saw too far at first, to omit sending his Master Advice, that the Assistance was dangerous; and his Express was beforehand with *Bentink*. The King receiving Intelligence in good Time, answer'd the Prince, That it was for their Common Interest that he should stay in *Holland*, expressing himself after such a manner as sufficiently shew'd that Zeal was not seasonable,

1685.

Mon-
mouth
routed.

In short, his Majesty was faithfully and well serv'd both by his Officers and Soldiers. The Dukes of *Grafton*, *Albermarle*, *Somerset* and *Beaufort*, the Lord *Churchil* and other Prime Men, who commanded small Bodies, and the Earl of *Feverſham* General of the Army, hemm'd in the Rebels so close, that they were reduc'd to a desperate Resolution of fighting upon unequal Terms, so to conquer, or die like Men of Courage. The Battle was fought on the 6th of *July* at *Weston*, not far from *Bridgewater*. The Charge was hot, and lasted some Time, tho' Colonel *Oglethorp* soon broke the Rebel Horse, commanded by the Lord *Grey*, who made little Resistance. The Foot, with the Duke of *Monmouth* at the Head of them, fought well, and he as long as the Action lasted maintain'd the Reputation of Valour he had gain'd in the World; but was at last forc'd to give way to Discipline, and the Cannon that play'd on him. The King gain'd an entire Victory. The Duke could scarce rally 50 Horse after the Defeat, and those staid not long with him. So hot was the Pursuit, that he was oblig'd to retire into a Wood, almost by himself. Others taking to that same Place for Shelter, were the Occasion of his being discover'd. All the Avenues to the Wood were guarded, and the thickest Parts of it successsfully search'd with Blood-hounds, who soon found out a Man in a Ditch, under a Hedge, which prov'd a Foreigner, who could scarce be examin'd, or understood; yet the Business was so manag'd, that he discover'd the Place where the Duke lay. He was hid in a thick Bush, in a tatter'd Coat, quaking, and in such dread, as blotted out all Signs of that Bravery he so much affected; which shows, that Reason and Judgment, whereof he had but a small Share, are inseparable from true Courage, and that it is requisite to Think solidly, in order to Act steddily. He fainted away when taken, and they had much to do to bring him to himself. As soon as a little recover'd, he writ a Letter to the King full of penitent and submissive Expressions, desiring to be heard, and that Favour was granted him; but prov'd of no Use for the End he intended it. He had already shown too much Fickleness, and that had brought the Kingdom into too much Danger, for the King once more to venture upon Mercy. His Ingratitude towards a Father, who had tenderly lov'd him, heap'd all manner of

And taken.

His poor
Spirit.

1685.

Is execut-
ed.

of Favours on him, and several Times forgiven his wicked Practices against his own Person, left no Place for an Uncle to expect any better from him. Thus the unhappy Duke of *Monmouth* was turn'd over to the Judges, who condemn'd him to Death, which was publicly executed at *London* on the 31st of *July*. He had a Soul more mean than it was wicked, and that Meanness made it fit for the greatest Villanies. The Lord *Grey* had been taken some Time before him; towards whom the King show'd such Mercy, as gave Occasion to say he had betray'd his Party.

Executi-
ons.

Many others suffer'd, and even more than the King had design'd. The Blame is laid on the great Severity of Sir *George Jefferies*, then a Judge, and afterwards Lord Chancellor, the Barbarity of Colonel *Kerk*, and the Avarice of those that were commission'd to dispence the Rigour, or the Prince's Mercy to the Rebels; for it is said, that more or less Guilt was not then made the Motive of inflicting Punishment, or showing Compassion; but that those who were least able to buy themselves off paid dearest, and if many lost their Lives, it was because few had Money enough to save them. The King was inform'd of those Disorders too late, but as soon as it came to his Ears, he express'd his Displeasure; and tho' the Services perform'd by those that were accus'd, prevail'd with him to spare them, he, as far as in him lay, made amends for their Injustice, by the General Pardon he granted to all the Rebels that were still capable of receiving his Mercy.

Happy Be-
ginnings of
K. James.

There was all the Reason in the World to believe, that a Reign which began so fortunately would afterwards prove successful. King *James* the Second victorious over *Monmouth* and *Argyle*, in the Year 1685, reviv'd the Memory of the Duke of *York* victorious over the *Dutch* in 1665, and the Persecutions he had suffer'd during that Interval gave such Lustre to his Virtue as reflected on his Crown. All Things seem'd to promise him a settled Felicity; great Enemies conquer'd and destroy'd, a victorious Army on foot; the great Men, and Commons not only submissive, but vying in Duty; all Foreign Princes courting his Friendship, and looking on him as the Arbitrator of all Differences in *Europe*; all these seem'd to be something more than bare Omens of a Peaceful and Happy Reign. And they must infal-
libly

libly have been so, had not King *James* been a Catho-
lick; had he profess'd any other Religion, or had none
at all, or could he have been so indifferent towards his
own as was expected by the Protestants who were jealous
of theirs, and the Politicians who have none. He is
said to have been over zealous for the Catholick Church. *Religion his Bane.*
I am none of those who believe a Man can not exceed in
his Zeal for Religion; I am satisfy'd, that Fire, as Holy
as it is, often burns the House of God, when lighted
without such Precautions as Prudence prescribes; yet
without pretending to flatter a King, from whom by
reason of my Birth and Profession I could expect no Ad-
vantage, tho' he were still on his Throne, the Sincerity
due to History obliges me to remove that Prejudice,
which that Prince's Subjects have made use of to justify
their Actions, and to show how wrongfully he is blam'd
by those after-sighted Politicians, who judging of Things
by the Event, always lay the Blame upon the Unfortu-
nate, and without farther Enquiry conclude, that a Man
does not Act as he ought, if he succeeds not in what he
does.

I do not pretend to maintain there were no Faults in *The King's*
that Prince's Council. The King, who is to govern a *Defence.*
restless People; Great Men, who have for a long Time
gone by no other Rule but their Ambition; Three Na-
tions, as much differing in Inclinations as in Interest;
Subjects of several Religions, each of them making it a
Part of theirs to push all Things to Extremes; His Ma-
jesty himself beset by Ministers, who made it not so
much their Business to serve him, as to raise Jealousies
that their Fellows were guilty, not of Neglect, or want of
Zeal and Capacity, but of the most villanous Practices,
and most heinous Treasons; The King, I say, who is
in this Condition, stands upon too ticklish Ground, not
to make some false Steps, and sometimes to incline to
the worst Side. However this I do assert, that the Be-
haviour of the King of *England* was such, throughout all
the Course of this Revolution, that, if ever he hap'n'd
to incline to take the worst Method, it was done abso-
lutely in regard to the Welfare of his Nation, and upon
such Reasons as would have made those Methods he fol-
low'd the best, had not an unparalell'd Disloyalty, and
such Treachery as the most solid Judgment could not
have prevented, render'd them evil. I will bring no
other

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other Proofs for my Assertion, but such Facts as are publickly known and out of Dispute; I will deliver them, bating a few Circumstances, as that Prince's Enemies have publish'd them in their Libels, and shall only deviate from that Turn their Malice has given them; leaving the impartial Reader to judge, whether they or I are in the right.

His Piety.

It would be a wrong to the King's Piety, which he professes in so edifying a manner, to say, he did not desire to see his Subjects return to the Religion of their Fore-Fathers, from which they have departed by Schism; but if they will observe all his Actions without Prejudice, they must needs be convinc'd, that he never intended any other Means than Persuasion to bring them over to his Faith. If they will seriously consider it, they will be farther satisfy'd, and sensible that tho' he was a King, he always look'd upon the Church of *England* as the Ruling Religion, false in reality, but establish'd by Law, and which a wise King had the more Reason to oblige, as being almost the only one, among all the Sects that have distracted *England*, that is favourable to Kings, and Regal Government. That was the Reason alledg'd by his Majesty in Council, and Parliament, as has been already observ'd, which mov'd him to promise to Protect and Support that Church. His Actions were suitable to his Words. The Church of *England* remain'd possess'd of the Bishopricks, Personages, Universities, and even the Chapels in the Court; and what is still more remarkable, at the Coronation, notwithstanding it was a Point controverted according to the Principles of the Catholick Religion, both he and the Queen had the Ceremony perform'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of the Church of *England*.

His Designs for Catholics.

Having done so much for the Religion of the Nation, his Majesty thought himself bound in Conscience, in Honour, and in Justice, to do something for his own; and that it was very reasonable those of his own Communion should reap some Advantage by his Reign, at least for delivering them from the Oppression they had so long groan'd under. For to take Things right, all he did for them went no farther, and may be reduc'd to two Points; the one the granting to Catholics the free Exercise of their Religion; the other the restoring them a Right to Publick Employments, which they had been wrong.

wrongfully depriv'd of, or rather enabling himself to imploy useful and loyal Subjects at any time, in such Affairs as should be for the publick Advantage; the Number of them at the same time being so small, in regard to all the rest, that there was no ground for any Jealousy. This was the Scheme laid by King *James*, and yet as reasonable as it was, perceiving it would not fail to meet with Obstruction in the Execution, he resolv'd to make use of the Authority of the Crown temper'd with the Mildness of his Nature, and always observ'd that same Moderation in the Management of that Affair.

He thought that Project could never be better begun to be put in Execution than just after a Victory, when he had an Army on foot, and a Parliament well affected. As soon as they were conven'd, he declar'd to them, that he had retain'd some Officers of his own Religion in his Forces, being Persons he could confide in, and who had always serv'd him faithfully, who he desir'd might be continu'd, and expected they would not oppose him in that Particular. This was all he said to that Point; but insisting on the good Effects the happy Union there had been, during the short Time of his Reign, had produc'd in the Nation, they rightly concluded, that in order to render the said Union more universal and lasting between all the Members of the Monarchy, he had resolv'd to make use of the undeniable Prerogative of his Crown in dispensing with Penal Laws, by tempering the Severity of those, which by means of the Test, excluded serviceable Subjects from publick Employments, and particularly depriv'd him of many faithful Servants.

Catholic Officers recommended to the Parliament.

The King had sufficient Reason to think they would have applauded his Moderation, as only proposing to restore those of his own Perswasion to a small Number of Employments; whereas they had been formerly possess'd of all for above 12 Centuries; but the Opposition made by the Parliament to his Proposal convinc'd him, that the Followers of King *Henry the 8th* would not be satisfy'd with his doing little for those that adher'd to *St. Edward*, for they would allow them nothing at all. No sooner had he spoke, but they began to mutter, and complain'd, that he did not keep his Promise made to the Council and Parliament at his Accession to the Throne, for maintaining of the Church of *England*; as if the main-

They oppose the King.

1684. maintaining of that had been the same as oppressing of the Catholics; whereupon Discontents arising, his Majesty prorogu'd them. However, to shew that what he aim'd at was reasonable, he would have the Controversy decided by able Men of the Church of *England*.

Debates about the Dispensing Power.

He order'd that Cause to be brought before the King's Bench, one of the greatest Courts in the Kingdom, that Judgment might be given about the Power of dispensing with Penal Laws, whether it was in the King, or not. Sir *Edward Hales* was brought before this Court, to be fin'd, pursuant to the Test Act, made against all those that should take upon them any publick Employments without taking the Oaths. Sir *Edward Hales* produc'd the King's Dispensation to that Law for his Defence; and thus the Case was referr'd to the general Argument concerning the Power of dispensing with Penal Laws. It was hotly argu'd on both Sides; but the Arguments were so strong and convincing on the King's Side, that notwithstanding it was so much against the Interest of the Judges to favour his Majesty, they could not deny doing him Justice. It was made appear to them, that the Power debated on was, not only an essential Prerogative of the Crown, but that the Practice of it had been as antient as the Monarchy it self; that it had been at all Times and in all Reigns, and interfer'd in most Regal Acts; that the Word, *Notwithstanding*, so frequently us'd, was always a Dispensation to any Law; that the same as evidently appear'd in the altering of Punishments, and much more in Amnesties, Pardons, and restoring of Offenders to their Forfeited Estates. There was something still more forcible alledg'd. Instances were brought of Laws, the Execution whereof had not only been stop'd by Kings, with regard to some particular Persons, but by a general Suspension to all the Kingdom, as had lately been done under King *Charles* the 2^d, about the Statute of Carriages, without any Complaint made by the Parliament, or any of the most zealous Persons for the Liberty of the Nation ever offering to say, that Prince had therein exceeded the legal Bounds of his Authority. They instanc'd in King *Henry* the 7th, the *English Solomon*, in whose Council the Law, which forbid the continuing of Sheriffs above one Year, was declar'd void and impracticable, because it obstructed the King's making use of his Subjects; a Reason that made

made more strongly for dispensing with the Test, than the very Example. Upon these Motives, after a full Hearing of all that could be objected, the Cause went for the King, and his Dispensation granted to *Hales*. The Lord Chief Justice *Herbert* gave Judgment, that the Defendant having a Dispensation from the Law by a legal Authority, lodg'd in the Sovereign, was consequently exempted from the Penalty. The King, not satisfy'd with that Judgment, would have the Chancellor consult the 12 Judges, who are the Interpreters of the Law. They were all Protestants, and yet all declar'd, that the Power of dispensing with Penal Laws was undoubtedly in the King.

1685.

The Judges give it for the King.

His Majesty being assur'd of his Right in such legal manner, thought he might make use of it for the future with the less Opposition. He kept in his Catholick Officers, and afterwards admitted others, yet few, as Opportunity offer'd, and the great Moderation he practis'd in that Particular has by many been look'd upon as a Fault, alledging, that had he employ'd more, no more Noise could have been made of it, and he had been better serv'd. Others carry this farther still, and considering the King's Army as the Foundation of all his Undertakings, and the only Instrument to make those People hearken to Reason, whom neither his legal Prerogative, nor his Moderation in making use of it, could prevail with to bear with his doing so, would have had the Catholicks in it numerous enough to awe the rest, and so strong as to take away from the others all Temptation to Disloyalty. The *Irish* Forces might have had that Effect, with such loyal *English* and *Scots* as might have join'd them. The King thought he could not in Justice do that wrong to the Protestants, having very good reason, in other respects, to rely on those in his Army, where the Soldiers really lov'd him, and most of the Officers had substantial Reasons to do so too. The Event has shewn, that the bolder Method had been best; but Prepossession and the Laws were for the more moderate, and that the King chose. In short, his Moderation wrought on some, but could not prevail on all. There wanted not for muttering, and the Ministers of the Church of *England* in some Places had the Boldness publicly to preach against their Sovereign's Conduct, and against those he exempted from the Rigour of the Laws.

His Moderation.

Seditious Sermons.

1685.

Laws. Doctor *Sharp*, Parson of *St. Giles's*, was very remarkable in this Particular, inveighing in his Sermons against the Catholics, in such manner as the most zealous Protestants disapprov'd, and thought too violent.

The King, ever since first he design'd to rescue the Catholics from Oppression, had foreseen that he should be attack'd by the Protestant Preachers, in order to curb whom, he had reviv'd the Instructions set out in the late King's Reign, *An. 1662.* wherein, among other things, they are forbid meddling in their Sermons with Matters of State; bringing in question the Rights of Subjects and Sovereigns; handling certain Points in Divinity, which had formerly occasion'd great Troubles in the Nation, particularly those of Predestination and Free Will; and using any Invectives, Reproaches, Raileries, or other offensive Words or Expressions, in Points of Controversy. These Injunctions did not hinder the Parson of *St. Giles's* from breaking loose; he transgress'd several of them in a Sermon, and there was Danger of his continuing so to do, had not some Remedy been apply'd. The King being inform'd of it, presently apply'd himself to the Bishop of *London*, requiring him to do Justice; but could obtain no other Satisfaction, than a slight Admonition to the Offender, which was not fit to correct a hot Man, and put a stop to the dangerous Example; whereupon his Majesty having consulted what he had Power to do, in order to repress that Licentiousness, he was advis'd to grant the Ecclesiastical Commission. This is a sort of Court sufficiently made use of in *England*, since the Schism has caus'd the Kings to be own'd Heads of the Church. The first Protestant Kings had instituted the High Commission Court; but the Power given it, said to be of too large an Extent, having render'd that Name odious, it was suppress'd, and that of the Ecclesiastical Commission was set up, with a more limited Power, which even the Parliament had thought necessary for curbing of the Clergy, for regulating their Lives, and for obliging them to do their Duty. This Expedient keeping in awe the Ministers of the Church of *England*, being thought still more seasonable under a Catholick King than under another, his Majesty reviv'd that Commission, composing it of Bishops and Lay-men, all Men of Distinction, and Protestants. As soon as erected, the
Bishop

Ecclesiastical Courts.

Bishop of *London* and the railing Parson were summon'd before it. The Bishop could hardly be brought to own the Jurisdiction of the Court, notwithstanding the Archbishop of *Cauterbury* his Metropolitan was one of the Commissioners; however at last he submitted, and after urging what weak Reasons he had for not punishing of *Sharp's* Flight, they were both suspended their Ecclesiastical Functions during the King's Pleasure, and four Prelates were appointed to perform the Episcopal Duty in the Diocese of *London* during that Time.

That Example startl'd the Ministers, and having silenc'd them for some time, his Majesty with less Opposition bestow'd such Employments as he thought fit on those few Catholics he design'd to prefer; all which amounted to some Places in the Privy Council conferr'd by Degrees on the Lords *Powis*, *Arundel*, *Bellasis*, *Dover*, *Tyrconnel*, *Castlemain*, and *Peterborough*; three or four considerable Governments to the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, *Widdrington*, *Langdale*, and *Hales*; and some other Posts fill'd by the Lords *Thomas Howard* and *Sunderland*, Sir *Butler* and *Tuchburn*, Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Porter*, Bishop *Gifford* made President of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, and with him some other Doctors of his own Religion, to chastize the refractory Protestants, who had oppos'd his Right of appointing one of their own. It is to be observ'd, that some of those here nam'd had been employ'd under the late King. In the Army there were few besides the Duke of *Berwick*, the Lords *Dover*, *Dunbarton*, and *Montgomery*, and Colonel *Hamilton*, and aboard the Navy Sir *Roger Strickland*, that had any considerable Posts.

Whilst this Point relating to the Test was settling after this manner, his Majesty consider'd of settling Liberty of Conscience, which was the 2d Project he had form'd in favour of his own Religion. Having set out a Declaration to that Effect in the Year 1687. which included many Sects of Nonconformists, he sent it presently into *Scotland*. It was directed to the Privy Council; the Opposition made by the Parliament of *Scotland* about dispensing with the Test, having oblig'd him to prorogue that, as well as the *English*. The Council receiv'd the Declaration with an unanimous Assent, tho' they abolish'd all the Oaths invented against Catholics; they

1687.
Liberty of
Conscience
in Scot-
land.

1687.

not a
knownIn Eng-
land.

they gave his Majesty to understand, in a Letter sign'd by them all, that the Precautions us'd by him for the Security of the Church of *England*, made them readily acquiesce in the Liberty he gave to his Nonconformist Subjects, and then publish'd the Declaration.

This good Temper of *Scotland* gave Hopes of the like in *England*, and in short, the Privy Council in *London* approv'd of the Declaration, as had been done at *Edinburgh*, yet it was more moderate, as not utterly abolishing the Oaths made against Catholics, as that sent into *Scotland* did, but only suspending them, and exempting all those that were, or should be put into publick Employments without taking the Oaths, from the Penalty of the Law.

Addressees.

The Share the Presbyterians had in that Act of Grace, made them receive the Declaration with singular Demonstrations of Joy; nor were the other Sects less satisfi'd, all of them testifying their Gratitude by their several Addresses presented by each of them to the King in their own Style. Only the Church of *England* was displeas'd, and whatsoever some well meaning Bishops could do for the publick Repose, they could not prevail upon the others to approve of the Declaration. The most moderate were those who only express'd their Discontent by their Silence. His Majesty had us'd all Means to satisfy them. Besides that the Declaration confirm'd his Word so often given for maintaining the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd, all it contain'd in favour of the other Sects, and even of the Catholic Religion, was a bare Permission to meet in private Chapels, forbidding them to meddle with any Protestant Church; and farther assuring all those who were possess'd of any Abby, or other Church Lands, that they should be protected in the free and peaceable Possession of their Estates, as they had been till then.

Closeting
of Parlia-
ment-men.

All this Management, and those Assurances, could not calm the ill Humour of the Episcopal Party, the more difficult to be prevail'd upon, because the Parliament still continu'd to oppose the King's Designs: who, that what he had done in favour of his own Religion might be the more permanent, would have had them to ratify the Liberty of Conscience, and repeal the Test by a positive Law, which cannot be done in *England* by the King without the Parliament. His Majesty

us'd

us'd all his Endeavours to prevail against the Opposition made by that Assembly, which in other respects was well affected to him, and he was willing to continue. He prorog'd them several Times for two Years, labouring during that time to gain them; even to discouraging every one of them particularly in his Closet, which made the *English* call that Way of Conference *Closetting*, that is, perswading in the Closet. There his Majesty represented to them, that since four Monarchs attempted, and so many wise Politicians us'd all the properest Means to establish Uniformity of Religion in *England*, and all in vain, the only Method for settling such Peace in the Nation, as might not be disturb'd by Religion, was to allow every Man the Liberty of living in his own; that the persecuting of Nonconformists at home, made good Subjects go abroad, who were advantageous to foreign Countries, and those who stay'd were uneasy and discontented; and if they had not Virtue enough to bear with their Troubles, they were always ready to encourage Rebellions, and join with Factions; that the fatal Consequences of it had been seen in the late Reigns, against which no King could secure his Person or his Subjects, without taking away from restless Spirits the Pretence of Religion, which they abus'd to disturb others. The King back'd these Arguments with Promises, and sometimes supported them both with some Signs of Displeasure; for he remov'd some from the Employments they held under him, alledging, it was not reasonable they should enjoy his Favours, who refus'd to serve him. All this prov'd ineffectual towards reducing of those obstinate Minds, and the King, tho' never so much against his Inclination, was oblig'd to dissolve that Parliament. The Protestants, who charge him with what he did to secure to himself the Votes of that Assembly, as an irregular Method, and contrary to the Liberty provided by the Laws for that Assembly, had forgot what violent Courses were follow'd by King *Henry* the 8th upon the like Occasions, and how so many other Kings have prevail'd on their Parliaments to submit to their Wills. King *James* the 2d fell much short of them, and if we will but consult History, we shall find that two of the most famous Parliaments that ever *England* beheld, did justify that Proceeding in the Reign

Old Instances of Closetting.

1687.

of King *Edward II.* and that of *Richard III.* The Debate was about *Roman Bulls*, which seem'd to invade the King's Prerogative. The Parliament intreated *Edward*, and compell'd *K. Richard* almost against his Will to confer in private with all the Members, in order to procure Assurances of what might be rely'd on towards supporting the Rights of the King and Crown against the See of *Rome*, for which the *Antient English* had an extraordinary Respect; and it was after these Closettings, that those Statutes pass'd, for which the Popes were so highly offended with those two Kings.

Quo Warranto's.

These Precedents were not sufficient to excuse King *James*; the 2d's Proceedings from being look'd upon as contrary to Law; and the Complaints ran still higher, when he, in order to secure a Parliament that might be more favourable to his Designs, made use of the *Quo Warranto*, as the King his Brother had done, and took the necessary Measures, with those that were Chief at Elections, for reforming of those Corporations that have Right to chuse. They were in a complaining Humour, and the least Step the King took in favour of his own Religion, was look'd upon by the Protestants as the Destruction of theirs. His Majesty had been of Opinion, that being a Catholick, no Fault could be found with him for having an Agent with the Pope, for the Direction of his Conscience, and for receiving a Minister of his with the respect due to the Person he represented; but he was deceiv'd. It was allow'd him

The Pope's Nuncio.

to keep an Agent at the *Turkish* Court; but they would not bear with his having one at the Court of the Head of his Religion. They approv'd of his giving an honourable Reception to the *Morocco* Embassadors, and were enrag'd at his admitting with some sort of Ceremony, tho' only in his own House, a Minister from him he acknowledg'd to be the Vicar of *JESUS CHRIST*. The Duke of *Somerset* was commended for having refus'd to introduce the Nuncio, and the Duke of *Graston*, who obey'd, was look'd upon as guilty of such Impiety, as he could no way expiate but by deserting. It was much resented that a Catholick King should forbid a sort of Festival, on which in an outrageous manner they yearly burnt the Pope in Effigie. There was no laying

giving Mass, no opening a Chapel or School; no doing Right to any Catholick tho' never so much wrong'd; no punishing of Libellers, or Seditious Preachers, or notorious Perjur'd Wretches, if they pretended never so little Zeal against Catholick Religion, but presently the Church of England was in an Uproar; and it is a Connection of such sort of Facts, as still fill up the Writings of certain Sectaries, who have endeavour'd by that Means to show, that England had just Cause to be alarm'd at the King's Designs against the Religion of the Country. Those among us, who upon reading such Accounts, have thought that Prince's Conduct hotter than it ought to have been, were certainly mislead by the Number of those Facts, purposely pack'd together in those Books, to impose upon the Readers. Those who read considerately, and compare ten or twelve Facts heap'd together, to make the greater Show, with the Extent of three Kingdoms, and the Term of four Years, that King late upon the Throne, make another sort of Judgment of a Sovereign, who being very zealous for his Religion, was confin'd by his Moderation to do so little, and what he did so slowly, in favour of it.

It is not unlikely, that even the zealous Protestants would have recover'd from the Frights they were put in to by their Ministers, had not the Ambition of some Great Men interfer'd with Religion, and a remaining Part of the Faction that had so hotly oppos'd the King when Duke of York; had not both those Ingredients temper'd a Poison, which in short Time affected all the Noble Parts of the Nation. The *Shaftisburian* Faction, rising again as it were out of its Ashes, made use of an Argument, not unlike that of the *Jews* when they slew the *Messias*, to persuade some Lords, either of the Episcopal, or Presbyterian Sect, or of those many who under those two Names have no Religion at all, that the *Romans* would engross all the Employments in the Kingdom, and draw to themselves all the Prince's Favours; that in a short Time there would be none but them in considerable Posts; that Protestants would be excluded; and Things would be brought to such a Pass that there would be no other Course for them, but either to turn Catholicks, or live private in their

1688.
Practices
against the
King.

*The History of the Revolutions in England,*Court In-
trigues.

own Houses. To prove this, they produc'd some Instances, which tho' few in Number, nevertheless were plausible.

The King at his first coming to the Crown had made his two Brothers-in-law, the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rochester*, the first Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the latter High Treasurer of *England*. Afterwards the Catholics believ'd those two Lords, tho' then firm to the King, being zealous Protestants, would in those great Posses disappoint whatsoever his Majesty had done in order to deliver the Church from Oppression. The Earl of *Sunderland*, the Prime Minister, incompatible with *Rochester*, and his profess'd Enemy, had laid all that Plot, to get rid of a Rival, whom he had much reason to fear, and had always hated. The King, who lov'd his Brothers-in-law, and particularly *Rochester*, long withstood the Prayers and Sollicitations made use of to him to put them out of their Employments; he study'd Reasons to support his Inclination; but that which was urg'd for so doing being convincing, he was at length prevail'd on to re-call *Clarendon* out of *Ireland*, and send *Tyrconnel* thither. He try'd to convert *Rochester*, who comply'd so far as to hear Catholics and Protestants dispute, as if he had sought after the Truth; but in all likelihood he only aim'd at gaining a Reputation of Constancy with those of his own Church, and to make good his Credit which declin'd at Court. Whatsoever Advantage the Catholics gain'd in that Disputation, the Earl went away a Protestant, and freely laid down his White Rod, the Employment being put into Commission, and 3 Persons concern'd, the Lords *Dover* and *Bellasis*, two Catholics, being of the Number. The King made the two Earls all the Satisfaction he thought might render their Disappointments easy; but the Event show'd that they took them to Heart, and their Example was very useful to seditious Persons, to make others apprehensive of the same.

Methods
of com-
bating.

The Confederacy was the easier to form, because the Faction, after the Example of *Shaftsbury* their old Head, discover'd but half their Designs to most of those they endeavour'd to seduce. That of dethroning the King was made known but to few, and the main Body of the Nation may be said, to have engag'd in it, without thinking

thinking of, or designing it. The Security of the Protestant Religion; the reducing of Catholics within the Bounds prescrib'd by the Laws made against them; the Liberties of the Parliament; the removing of Arbitrary Power, then said to threaten the Nation, and which the King seem'd nearer a Condition to exercise than any of his Predecessors, unless speedily prevented; the bringing back of Honours and Preferments into Protestant Families, which they thought would soon be transferr'd to Catholics, were the Proposals made to those they thought unfit to hear of bolder Designs, and the Motives arg'd for their associating together, not to shake off the King, but to oblige him, as they said, to govern according to Law. The Design succeeded; they associated, and abundance of People were the less cautious of engaging, because the Head propos'd to them for carrying on this Enterprize pretended to be remote in Thought from carrying on this Invasion.

This Moderation prov'd an effectual Motive made use of by the Prince of Orange, to engage the English Lords not only to follow, but to invite him to come over and head them, in order to oblige the King to govern more conformably to the Laws. His manner of proceeding therein was neither so hot or rash, as to enter upon Action unseasonably; he had permitted the Hot Heads to act, still keeping himself in such a Posture as to make his Advantage of their Success, without running any Hazards by their Indiscretions. The Prince us'd all the Art other Men apply in preparing themselves for acting in bold Undertakings, towards proceeding in this upon sure Grounds, and succeeding without any Hazard, always entertaining a Correspondence with his Majesty; omitting none of the Respect due from a Son-in-law to a Father-in-law; pretending to be zealous for his Service; and transacting with his Ministers as if he had been the first of them. This Behaviour was the more successful in imposing upon the King, because the Prince of Orange, for a long Time did scarce any thing but Think, observe the Motions of the English, and dispose his Affairs accordingly, for a seasonable Conjunction. The setting up again of the old Cabal, upon the Occasion above mention'd, made him

Prince of Orange invited.

His Behaviour to the English.

1688. conclude the Time was then come, and much more the Conferences he had with some of those Factionous Persons, who, whilst the others treated with the Lords at home, went over into *Holland*; under several Colours, to treat with him.

Practices
abroad.

The Prince being assur'd of a Party in the Kingdom, apply'd himself to deprive the King of all the Succours he might receive from Abroad. His Majesty had concluded an Alliance with *Spain*, and therefore had reason to be perswaded that the House of *Austria*, would at least, not oppose him, especially where Religion was concern'd. He had not concluded any particular Treaty with *France*, but was a personal Friend, and too near a Kin to that King, not to be succour'd in Time of Need. To cut him off these two Supports, the Prince, on the one Hand, enter'd himself and drew the *Dutch* into the League of *Ausburg* against *France*, in order to draw the Forces of the Allies upon that Monarchy, in case it should attack the States, whilst their Troops were crossing the Sea, upon the *English* Design; on the other, he render'd the King his Father-in-law suspected to the House of *Austria*, as a Prince ill-affected to its Projects, and strictly united in Interest, and engag'd to *France* by a Treaty, which would appear, when the Season were proper.

Reasons
why the
King could
not break
with
France.

The Emperor and Catholick King were the more susceptible of those Jealousies, in regard that their Ministers had ineffectually endeavour'd to draw the King of *England* into the League they had concluded with the German Princes against *France*. The Count de *Castranga*, Governour of the *Spanish* *Flanders*, and the Embassador, *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, had spar'd no Pains to bring him in, and the latter went so far as to promise, that if he would consent to it, the Parliament should comply with all he had done for the Establishment of Religion. Had the King been inclin'd to League against *France*, it is likely it would not have been upon the Interest that *Spain* and pretended to have in his Parliament, with the natural Propensity of the Nation, then heighten'd by the Clamours of the *French* Fugitive *Catholics*; it would have been a more plausible Motive. Those who say, he ought to have laid hold of that Opportunity to gain the Affections of his Subjects, do not consider how incongruous

that Proceeding would have been, and that the Con-
 deracy when propos'd, being only the Consequence of
 another, concluded at *Magdeburg* by the Protestants,
 on account of the *Hugonots*, it must have been preposter-
 ous in a King who was endeavouring to obtain Liberty
 for the Catholics in *England*, to joyn in re-establishing
 the most violent Protestants in *France*. Besides, The
 could not in Policy cast off a sure Friend, to joyn with
 Princes who could no longer be serviceable to him, than
 whilst they stood in Need of him; Since the Protestants
 began to prevail so far upon their Piety, as to draw
 them into a formal League against a Catholick King, in
 Favour of the *Calvinists*, he had expell'd his Dominions.
 So that the King of *England* did discreetly in answering
 the *Spanish* Embassador, that he would inviolably observe
 the Alliance concluded with his Master; but the same
 Justice oblig'd him not to interrupt the Friendship there
 was between him and the most Christian King, his
 Kinsman, who was willing to live in Peace with his
 Neighbours, and preserve it among them, if he could.
 This Answer did not satisfy the Councils at *Vienna*
 and *Munich*, and it is likely dispos'd the Emperour, and
 King of *Spain* to hearken to the Proposals made to them
 by the Prince of *Orange*, now not only against *France*,
 but against the King of *England* also, but I am of the same
 Opinion with those who believe, that he observ'd the
 same Method for gaining of them, that his Partisans had
 done to draw in the *English* Lords, which was acquaint-
 ing them with but half his Designs, and perswaded
 them that all the End of his going into *England* was on-
 ly to oblige the King to joyn with them against *France*.
 This Judgment methinks ought to be made on Account
 of the Religion of the House of *Austria*. The Continu-
 ance of the League after the Dethroning of the *English*
 Monarch, is an Argument to the contrary, not easily
 to be answer'd; but it is frequent to proceed, when
 once engag'd, in such Things as we should not engage in,
 could we in the beginning foresee where they would
 end. However that was, thus the fatal League which
 drove the King of *England* from his Throne and Domi-
 nions, was form'd. The Prince in the mean while un-
 der-hand made the necessary Warlike Preparations to
 cross the Sea. The *Dutch* did not only furnish him with
 Forces

Leaguings
 abroad.

1688.

Prince of
Wales
born.

Forces and Shipping, but the better to enable him to fight the King his Father-in-law, with his own Weapons, kept back six Regiments of his Majesty's Subjects, which had been long in their Service, and whatever the King could do to draw them away, he never was able to compass it.

This was the Time when the Queen provid'd with Child of the Prince of Wales, and was deliver'd of him on the tenth of June, 1688. The Faction us'd a double Artifice to make their Advantage of an Accident, which must naturally have ruin'd them; the one was giving out among the People, that the Child was not born of the Queen; the other, the frightening of the Great Men with the Apprehension, that the Sovereignty was like to be continu'd in a Catholick Line, to the Overthrow of the Protestant Religion, and of their Fortunes. The first of those Artifices did not succeed; nor did the Authors of it gain any Reputation; so many Witnesses above all Exception had seen the Prince of Wales born, so many saw him immediately after, that the Fable seem'd insupportable even to those whose greatest Concern it was to keep it up. The second was but too successful. Many had Patience enough to see a Catholick on the Throne, in hopes that a Protestant Heir would succeed, and make the Sectaries amends for what had been taken from them by an Orthodox King. They comforted themselves with the View, that King James the Second having reviv'd the Reign of Queen Mary, the Princess of Orange would again bring in that of Queen Elizabeth. It was a great Disappointment to them to have a Prince of Wales born, who could not fail of being brought up in the Catholick Religion, which must perpetuate it on the Throne, and in Time bring it to prevail among the People. It is generally believ'd, that Consideration advanc'd the Prince of Orange's Interest more than any other, either by increasing the Number of those who favour'd the Design, or by inducing the others to joyn in that he pretended to, of circumscribing the Sovereignty within the Bounds of the Law; and disabling the King from attempting any thing either against the Religion of the Country or the Liberty of the Nation.

Forces

The

The famous Business of the Bishops, which hap'n'd about this Time, gave the finishing Stroke to the Disposition towards a Revolution. That was Originally a Contrivance of the English Presbyterians, or rather of their Parsons, who thinking to make their Advantage of the Controversies between the Court, and Church of England, caus'd some Catholics to insinuate to the King, that the better to bring the Parliament to grant the Liberty of Conscience, he should oblige the Bishops to publish it in the Churches. The King having nothing more at Heart than the settling that Point upon a solid Foundation, approv'd of that Expedient, which seem'd not liable to any Opposition, the Custom of publishing the Sovereign's Commands in Churches having been always us'd in England, as well as in other Countries. He accordingly order'd the Bishops so to do. Such of those Prelates as hap'n'd to be then at London, meeting at the Archbishop of Canterbury's House at Lambeth, laid hold of that Opportunity to make known how averse they were to the Declaration, and resolv'd not to publish it, as was requir'd of them. However to mollify their Refusal, and so prevent being look'd upon as Refractory, they drew up a Petition, which was presented to the King by the Archbishop himself, attended by the Bishops of St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Ely, Bristol, and Peterborough. The Purport of the Petition was, that their Consciences would not permit them to pay such Submission as they should upon all other Occasions; that they desir'd Regard might be had to the due Nicety they ought to proceed with in that Particular; that the Affair in Hand concern'd the maintaining of the Rights of the Church of England, and the Laws of the Nation, which were invaded by his Majesty's dispensing with the Test, added to the Liberty of Conscience, contrary to the Establish'd Government, and the Acts of Parliament of 1602, and 1672. This last Clause provok'd the King to give a sharper Answer than he would have done, had the Bishops confin'd themselves only to such Reasons as concern'd the Church. I did not expect, said his Majesty, such a Remonstrance, or that you of all my Subjects should question my Authority. The Rights of the Church of England are not concern'd in this Affair, tho' you plead them, but only the Privilege of the Crown, which

Bishops re-
fused to
publish the
Declara-
tion.

and
last

note
made

1688. which I am resolv'd to maintain, I am your King; it is your Part to obey me, and thus you ought to do out of Conscience and Duty. His Majesty having dismiss'd the Prelates, call'd his Council to consider of the Means to bring them to Submission, and prevent the mischievous Effects their Example might produce. It was resolv'd to Summon them; they appear'd, but not with any Design to obey the Prince, or his Council's Orders. They were told, that being charg'd with having publish'd a Libel, against the Regal Authority, under Colour of presenting a Petition, they should give in Bail, according to the Laws they pretended so much Zeal for, in order to their appearing at the King's Bench, within a Time perfix'd, to answer in that Court to what should be brought in against them. By the Behaviour of the *English* during this last Century, a Man might say, there are no Laws in *England*, but only against the Kings. Those very Bishops, who found such fault that the King should dispense with the Laws, made no Difficulty to refuse to submit to them, and would not give Bail; whereupon the Council, having taken it into Consideration, unanimously concluded to commit them to the Tower. They were conducted thither, and tho' they pretended that being Peers they could not be oblig'd to submit to the Judgment of the King's Bench; yet so many able Lawyers convinc'd them, of the Legality of the Proceeding, that at last they submitted, and were brought to a Tryal there. There was much pleading on both Sides; but their Arguments were so weak, that they were fain to disown their Petition, which could not be prov'd theirs, because the King was alone in his Closet, when he receiv'd it; and the King cannot be a Witness, especially where he is concern'd himself; a Custom very different from those Times, when the Kings of *England* concluded their Proclamations with these Words, *Witness my Self*. By this base Slight the Bishops were discharg'd. They were beholding to the King for the Ease of procuring a favourable Jury, and employing all their Friends to sollicite for them. For his Majesty gave them all possible Means to extricate themselves from the Difficulties they were entangled in, hoping, it is likely, that his

Good.

Their
Tryal.

How
clear'd.

Goodness might prevail to bring them to their Duty, and that for the future they would give an Example to others not to deviate from it. He found himself mistaken; for the Trial had alienated the Minds of those Prelates from him, and his Clemency did not reconcile them. I know not whether the Faction had before tempted them to join with those that invited the Prince of Orange; but it is certain they made effectual Use of this new Discontent to overcome that Resistance, if they had made any. The Behaviour of six of them was afterwards a sufficient Demonstration, that they never intended to join with those who were for destroying the King; but only to espouse the Cause of those who were impos'd upon, like themselves, and made to believe they would only oblige him to govern according to Law. It was doubtless this Artifice that prevail'd on *They invite* those Prelates to write to the Dutch Prince, praying *the Pt. of* him to expedite his March, and come in to the De Orange. fence of their Religion and Laws, which they pretended the King had again invaded by imprisoning of them.

There being no more room for the Prince of Orange, *The King* to doubt of a general Conspiracy to back his Designs, *acquainted* he hasten'd his Preparations more than he had done *with the* before; and that Haste gave Occasion to the Count D'Avaux, the French Ambassador in Holland, not only to *Designs a-* suspect that the Prince had other Designs, than what be- *gainst him.* came a good Statholder in keeping the Dutch Fleet and Forces in a Readiness, but to perceive that all his Projects lay against England. He gave the King his Master notice of it, and that way the King of England receiv'd the first exact and positive Intelligence. I say, exact and positive; for Mr. Skelton residing in Holland, had long since discover'd that the Prince of Orange was intriguing with the English. That Minister had such Interest in the Princess's Family, as avail'd him to intercept some Letters, which, tho' they did not in plain Terms express what was in Agitation, declar'd enough to understand, that something was carrying on against the King. He gave notice of it; but the frequent Talk there was of Treason in the English Court, made them very often slight true as well as false Intelligence. That which his most Christian Majesty receiv'd from the Count D'Avaux

1688. *was* was such as he thought ought not to be so little regarded; he press'd the King of England to take such notice of it as it deserv'd, and use the necessary Precautions to defend himself against the Invasion that threaten'd his Dominions.

Mr. Skelton's Intelligence.

Mr. Skelton coming into France much about the same time, as Envoy Extraordinary, held Intelligence with a Man, who gave him much Insight into this Affair we speak of. His Name was *Badr de Perce*, a Geneva Protestant. He had formerly been a Captain in the Prince of Orange's Guards, and having kill'd a Man in a Duel, was disband'd. *Skelton* had made his Peace for him, upon the Recommendation of the Earl of Clarendon, who having caus'd his Son the Lord Cornbury to be bred up at Geneva, was oblig'd to *Perce* for the Care he had taken of him. This Genevian being reffer'd to his Master's Favour, made a greater Progress in it than he had done before, and was much trust'd by him, and his Favourite *Bentink*. I know not upon what occasion he fell at variance with them, and went away. He was gone back to Geneva, when upon the Noise of the warlike Preparations made in Holland, he writ to Mr. Skelton, then at Paris, that he had such things to communicate to the King of England, as concern'd no less than his Crown; and the laying open to him a Son-in-law he was not jealous enough of; but that he would not discover his Secret to any but the King himself, if his Majesty thought fit he should repair to him.

The King's incredulom.

Hereupon Mr. Skelton sent 5 or 6 Letters into England, all of them very earnest and pressing, and much in the same Style as those writ to his Master by Order of the Most Christian King. On the other hand, the Marquis d'Alberville, Envoy from England to the States, was not wanting in his Duty. Thus the King had Intelligence enough not to be surpriz'd. He took notice of these Advices too late, and several Reasons are alledg'd, why he did it not sooner. The Prince of Orange still behav'd himself in such manner towards him, as gave no Occasion to entertain any such Jealousy. That Prince continu'd paying him the same dutiful Respects, even to complimenting him, as others did, upon the Birth of the Prince of Wales; and caus'd that his Brother-in-law's Name to be added to the rest of the Princes of the Family.

only, to be pray'd for in his Chapel. Besides, when the Noise of the Armament was spread abroad, *James* the Ambassador of the States, positively assur'd him, that it no way concern'd *England*, suggesting to his Majesty, that *France* had more cause to take the Alarm than he. On the other hand, that Monarch, relying on the Fidelity of those Persons he could not suspect would fail in it, thought himself in a Posture not to fear any Attempts of the *Dutch*. He had a Land Army, a Fleet at Sea, sufficient Magazines to disappoint all the Designs of *Europe*, had he been as well servid by these he employ'd, as he had Reason to expect. Treason it self is said to have back'd those Reasons of Security he had conceiv'd, and his Prime Minister is accus'd of it.

That Minister was *Robert Spencer*, Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State, and President of the Council. His Name sufficiently shews his Birth, which a plentiful Estate, and much Sense, might have supported in a Degree becoming his Ancestors, had his Behaviour been suitable. I will deliver what is said on both Sides. Those who accuse him of Infidelity ground their Charge upon Circumstances and Facts, and say, the Earl of *Sunderland* was an Enemy reconcil'd to King *James* through Policy and Necessity; that no Man had possid on the Business of the Exclusion in the several Parliaments more hotly than he; and that he had never sought after his Friendship, till he saw him uppermost; that he was one who resolv'd to keep in with the prevailing Party, yet so as to have a Hole to creep out at, in case of any Change; that whilst he adher'd to the Parliament Factions against the Royal Family, he held strict Correspondence with one of King *Charles's* Mistresses, who had reconcil'd them, and by his means the Duke of *Tork* also; that being become Prime Minister, and almost the only one, to the latter, after his Accession to the Throne, he had been zealous for him, during his Prosperity; but as soon as he discover'd a Party was forming against him, he had held Correspondence with his Enemies; that the Countess, his Wife, constantly writ to the Princess of *Orange*, and his Uncle *Henry Sidney*, one of the Heads of the Faction, was gone over into *England*, to the Prince; that the Earl in a printed Letter

Earl of
Sunder-
land.

What he
charges him
with.

Letter owning, that he had sided with the Catholics, and embrac'd their Religion; to be the better able to serve the Protestants, is a Proof he was not always of the Side he seem'd to be; that no other Judgment can be made of the Violence he us'd towards his Master, perswading him, contrary to his own Inclination, to bring *F. Percy* into the Privy Council, against his own Will, notwithstanding the Opposition made by the Queen, and in Spight of the most essential Laws of the Queen that Father profess'd, which his Majesty, to please his Minister, at that time made subservient to the Right, he thought he had of disposing of his Subjects; that no other Inference can be drawn from that Lord's Proceedings in the Disturbance about the Bishops, when he caus'd to be hard set in the Council, and yet favour'd under hand; that the slight Account that Minister made of so many Advices brought the King, of the Designs of his Son in law, and the *Dutch*, must needs be attributed to an evil Intention; as most the Methods he afterwards perswaded him to follow, which depriv'd that Monarch of the only Means left him to oppose his Enemies.

These are most of the Proofs of the famous Earl of *Sunderland's* Infidelity, allerdg'd by those that charge him with Breach of Faith; those who are for excusing him, answer thus: That it is no infallible Rule, that a reconcil'd Enemy cannot become sincere; that a Man may save himself a Resource with a Party, without embracing it; that the Earl was never convicted of having any personal Understanding with his Master's Enemies, tending to betray him; that his Wife's Correspondence with the Prince of *Orange*, tho' suspicious at that Conjecture, is not a sufficient Reason to charge the Husband with such a Crime; that *Sidney*, tho' his Kinsman, might deceive him, as well as others, and make him believe his going over into *Holland* was only for his Health, and intended to the *Span*, which was the Pretence of it; that his confessing he became a Catholic, the better to serve the Protestants, is rather an Excuse than any Proof of his combining with them, since there is no need of an Excuse to them that would act in concert with; that in the Business of *F. Percy*, the Earl sought for one on whom he might reject the Offence taken at those things that were displeasing to the People, in the Conduct

duet of the Court; that the Enterprize of the Prince of Orange and the Dutch against a powerful King, defended by a considerable Army, seem'd so extraordinary, that not being able to give Credit to it, he thought himself oblig'd to make slight of all the Advices; that in case he had been oblig'd to believe it, those very Forces he saw about his Master made him positive in rejecting such Succours, as he thought dangerous, and could not think necessary. Thus do they excuse that English Minister, who undertake that Province. I leave it to the more judicious Reader to decide that Question, that I may proceed in my History.

The King of France, and the English Envoy at his French Court not desisting, made themselves be heard. Orders were sent to the Envoy to call the Genevian, and his most Christian Majesty was given to understand, that his Care was acceptable; whereupon he, not satisfy'd with having given notice of the Danger, sent Mons. Bonrepas to London to offer the necessary Succours for averting of it.

King Lewis was then preparing to attack the *Ausburg* The League Allies. That League had been form'd against him, on pretence that he had since the Peace possess'd himself of the Towns of *Straisburg* and *Luxemburg*. Whatsoever Right he might have so to do from several Causes of Discontent, which do not belong to this History, the Allies were provok'd at it. The War was about to begin again, had not those who were for averting of it found the Expedient of a Truce, the Length whereof made it seem more advantageous to the Publick than a Peace. The League of *Ausburg* having made it appear, that the Allies intended not to observe the Cessation of Arms any longer than till they were in a condition to take them up again to their Advantage, his Majesty resolv'd to be beforehand with them. His Troops were ready for that Enterprize, when being concern'd at the Difficulties the King of England was under, he preferr'd the Interest of his Friend before his own, and order'd Bonrepas to offer him his Forces, and Ships to transport them.

Considering the thing rightly, it was a nice Point for a King of England to bring an Army of Strangers into his Dominions, and those Catholicks, and especially French. It was enough to blacken the Memory of a Prince

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Prince in the Minds of his Nation, and an Acknowledgement of all the Reports spread abroad, of his having enter'd into an Alliance on purpose to support the Liberties and the Religion of the Country. Besides, the King had more than a sufficient Number of Forces to withstand all the Attempts of the Dutch, which his Navy alone was able to oppose, and when the worst should happen, his Army could scarce fail to overcome, as being much more numerous, and well disciplin'd. *Sunderland*, who first advis'd the refusing of those Succours, supported his Opinion with these Reasons above mention'd; those who were of another Mind, grounded themselves on these which follow: That the thing was not only to be consider'd in it self, but in the present Circumstances; that the Business in hand was not barely opposing one Army against another, but to discover whether the Army that was to oppose the Enemy did not consent with them for promoting of their Designs; whether the Officers that commanded them were any more above Corruption, than those in other Parts of the Government, who were said to be debauch'd, and yet not known? From hence, those, who discours'd after this manner, concluded, that if unfortunately the Corruption was got into the Army as well as into other Parts, the King, by refusing the foreign Succours, which with what loyal Subjects would join him, might make up a considerable Party, would be expos'd to all the Power of his Enemies, without any Defence. Amidst this Variety of Opinions, the Prime Minister's Opinion, the King's Goodness to his Subjects, the Honour of the Nation, the Confidence he repos'd in the Commanders of his Forces, most of them Men of such Quality, as not to be thought to be partier themselves with Treason, or else Persons loaded with his Favours, inclin'd the King to choose that which the Event has disapprov'd, and made him refuse those Succours he might easily have receiv'd, the Fleets which might have oppos'd it not being as yet fit to put to Sea for Action.

French. It was with much Concern that *France* heard the Resolution taken in *England*, and it is not easy to express how much our Court took to heart the Danger of a King, who had been long belov'd there. *M^r Shelton* was almost tir'd out with People stopping, questioning, and

and almost quarrelling with him, because their Advice was not follow'd. They would fain have him find out some Expedient to serve his Master in spite of his Ministers, and they went so far as to oblige him to propose a Method, which would have effectually sav'd him, had not the Court of England, still proceeding as it began, obstructed it. One Day, *Monf. de Croissy* pressing the Envoy touching that Point, the latter, after answering, that he had no Orders, and durst not ask any thing, added, that nevertheless he believ'd, that if his most Christian Majesty should declare to the States how much he espous'd the King his Master's Concerns, and threatned to attack them, in case they attempted any thing against him, it would certainly give a full Stop to them, and so break all the Prince of Orange's Measures, without giving the English any Cause to complain, that the King had call'd any Strangers into their Country. That Minister approving of the Envoy's Proposal, he went to acquaint the King, who readily embracing all the Methods propos'd to him for assisting the King of England, tho' he drew the Storm upon himself, sent Orders to *Monf. d'Avaux* to declare to the United Provinces, that they could not attack a Prince so strictly ally'd to him, without obliging him to his Assistance. The Ambassador deliver'd himself in such manner as put the States to a stand, when the News was brought to London, both of what *Skelton* had advis'd, and of the Declaration made by *Monf. d'Avaux*. The English Minister did not disown it, and still insisting on the Regard the King had for his Subjects, perswaded him to hold the fatal Resolution of receiving no Assistance from any but them. *Albyville* had receiv'd Orders to require the Dutch to explain their Designs in relation to the Fleet that was sitting out in their Harbours, all the Answer he receiv'd was requiring him to desire the King to satisfy them as to his Alliances with his Neighbours. This manner of proceeding seem'd to be a sufficient Motive for the Court of England to accept of the offer'd Diversion. But they alter'd not their Methods, and the Prime Minister stood to his Advice. The States were assur'd, that no particular Alliance was enter'd into with France, and *Skelton* was recall'd to be committed to the Tower, where he continu'd 18 Days.

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The King
lost by re-
jecting it.

Thus the Positiveness of a Minister, if no worse be thought of it, deliver'd up a mighty King into the Hands of his Enemies, and an Excess of Confidence repos'd on Subjects who did not deserve it, depriv'd that Prince of the Succours he might have had elsewhere. *Kerack* was surpris'd to hear it, when he came to *Paris*, where he was arriv'd in his way to *London*; but, concluding that no Advantage could be made of his Information, he return'd home.

Philipp-
burg, &c.
taken.

The King of *France* fearing to make that Prince his Enemy, whom he intended to deliver from his own, apply'd his Forces to prevent the Designs of the *Ausburg* League; and then the *Dauphin* made that fine Campaign of the Year 1688. when in less than two Months he took *Philippsburg*, *Manheim*, *Frankendal*, and other Places of Note, and made *France* a Barrier against the *Germans*, of their own Towns either destroy'd or preserv'd.

P. of O-
range's
Declara-
tion.

In the mean while they prepar'd in *England* and *Holland*, the latter to invade, the former to defend it self. Both Sides provided Fleets, Armies, Cannon and Ammunitions; and the Hopes of both Parties being ground- ed on the *English*, each us'd all possible Endeavours to gain them. To that purpose the Prince of *Orange* drew up a Declaration, containing three principal Heads.

The first
Head of it.

The first was a Recapitulation of all the Grievances of the *English* Nation, particularly of the Protestants, against their King, as to the dispensing Power; the preferring of Catholics to Places of Trust, and to the Council Board; the Ecclesiastical Commission, the Business of the Bishops, and other Matters artfully put together and represented, to make an odious Connection of Facts, by which he endeavour'd to prove that his Majesty had design'd to overthrow the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberty of the Nation.

The 2d.

The 2d declar'd, that *English* Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal having apply'd to the Prince of *Orange*, to desire his Assistance, in order to defend them against the threatned Evils; that Prince had the more readily comply'd with their Request, in regard that being the next Heir to the Crown of *England*, he was the more concern'd for the Laws and Religion of the Kingdom, the Succession to which was endeavour'd to be taken from him by a pretended Prince of *Wales*.

and T

c X

In

In the 3^d the said Prince of *Orange* alledg'd, that a Free-Parliament was the only Remedy which could be apply'd to those Evils, and supposing that a Parliament could never be free under a King who govern'd without any regard to the Laws, unless that Assembly were otherwise supported, made known his Resolution of passing over the Sea, with a sufficient Force to support their Acts, exhorting all good *English* Men to join him for the bringing about so commendable a Design.

1688.
The 3^d.

They were just upon sending this Declaration into *England*, and another of the same Purport into *Scotland*, when they understood that its Assertions were false, at least in the most considerable Parts, from the Advances the King had made towards satisfying of the Protestants, and taking from them all Pretences to complain. Most of the Things done in Favour of the Catholics had been made void, or suspended till the Sitting of the Parliament, already summon'd, but put off on account of the Trouble occasion'd by the *Dutch* Enterprize. The Ecclesiastical Commission had been abolish'd, the Bishops were restor'd to Favour, and he of *London* to his Function. The Charters of *London* and other Corporations, taken from them during the late King's Reign, had been restor'd. All possible Assurance had been given the ensuing Parliament of its enjoying full Liberty. In a Word, nothing had been omitted that could be thought proper to remove Jealousies, and gain Affections; and to conclude, the Time drawing near, when it was said the *Dutch* resolv'd to put to Sea, a Proclamation had been set forth, in which his Majesty giving Notice, that a Foreign Power was preparing to invade the Kingdom, exhorted his Subjects to lay aside all former Jealousies, and unite together against the Common Enemy.

The King's Condescensions.

The Prince of *Orange* being inform'd of these new Measures taken by the King, to break them all, added two Articles to his Declaration; The one was a Protestation, that he had no Design to invade the Kingdom, but only to have a free Parliament, on such Footing as might settle the Religion, and the Laws on such a Foundation as might not be shaken; The other was a disavowing of the Assurances the King gave the Parlia-

Prince of Orange's additional Declaration.

1688.



*He sails
for En-
gland.*

ment of that same Liberty, exhorting all zealous *English* not to suffer themselves to be deluded by them; and having sent over this Declaration into *England* to be there spread abroad, he bent his whole Thoughts upon setting out.

Having taken leave of the States about the latter end of *October*, he set sail with a favourable Wind to carry him where he intended to land. His Fleet consisted of between 4 and 500 Sail, and his Land Forces were between 12 and 13000. With him went the *English* Men of Quality, who had already declar'd, the Chief whereof were, *Charles Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, bred a Catholic, which was the Hereditary Religion of his Family from the Great *Talbot* down to him, who was the first that forsook it; *Charles Gerard*, Earl of *Macklesfield*; the Lord *Mordant*, *Henry Sidney*, and Vice-Admiral *Herbert*. The *Marschal de Schamberg*, who departed *France* loaded with Favours and Honours, but discontented for having been remov'd upon the Affair of the *Hugonots*, had put himself into the Prince of *Orange's* Service, and went upon the Expedition. *Herbert* commanded the Van, *Evertzen* the Rear, and the Prince was in the Center. The Fleet carry'd White Colours, with the Arms of its Chief, and about them this Motto, *For Religion and Liberty*. It was all out at Sea, and standing its Course, when a Storm rising in the Night, blew so violent for 12 Hours together, that it was dispers'd, and oblig'd to put into Port again to come together. The Damage receiv'd was considerable, but soon repair'd; and the Wind coming fair, they sail'd again on the first of *November*. The Lord *Dartmouth*, then the *English* Admiral, had put the King in Hopes, that he would stop the Enemy, but he never appear'd, and on the fifth the Prince landed his Forces at *Lime*, *Torbay*, and the adjacent Coasts, without any Opposition.

*Sieges
Exeter.*

He presently secur'd *Exeter*, in the County of *Devon*, and encamp'd about it, designing to stay there till he could see what Effect his coming would have upon the Country. It was not long before he found it considerable. The King on the one Hand order'd down part of his Army to *Salisbury*, intending to joyn it there with such Forces as he had kept to attend him; and on the other,

Under the Family of the Stuarts
other, the most forward of the Faction began to show themselves. The Lord *Lovelace* appear'd about *Bristol*, with some Men he had gather'd. The Lord *Cornbury* was the first that shew'd the King's Army was not free from Corruption. He pretending to beat up one of the Enemies Quarters towards *Exeter*, and having taken with him such a Number of the Forces from *Salisbury* as was thought requisite for that Service, debauch'd a part of them which he led away to *Exeter*.

This first Revolt surpriz'd the Court, and gave Cause to apprehend the Consequences. In order to prevent it, the King call'd together the Chief Officers that remain'd with him, of which Number were the Duke of *Grafton*, *Trelawny*, *Kerk*, and *Churchil*; and his Majesty appearing with a Frankness that might have mov'd any generous Souls, said, *I have given Orders for calling of a free Parliament, as soon as more settled Times will allow of it. I am resolv'd to make as much Provision as my Subjects can desire, for the Security of their Religion, their Liberty, and Franchises. Would you ask any more? I am ready to grant it. But if after this any Man be not satisfy'd, I desire him to declare it; and am ready to give all those who are not for staying with me sufficient Passes to go away to the Prince of Orange, and shall freely save them the Guilt of Treason.*

These Words seem'd to have made some Impression; they all protest'd they were satisfy'd and ready to spill their Blood in their Prince's Service. It is to be suppos'd that some meant as they said; but the Event shew'd that Hearts corrupted are not to be gain'd. The King, who was too apt to judge of other Men's Probity by his own, never imagining that Persons who were of a Profession that seeks after Honour, could forsake him, after such Protestations, march'd with what Troops he had kept in his old Camp, and came to *Salisbury*. No sooner was he there, but *Churchil*, the Man who had receiv'd more Favours from him than any other in all *England*, and who had been always look'd upon as a sort of Favourite, laid a Plot to carry him away, and in all likelihood to deliver him up to the Prince of *Orange*.

*The History of the Revolutions in England,*Lovelace
taken.The King
so be
seiz'd.

Desertion.

As *Cornbury's* deserting gave the King Occasion to apprehend its Consequences, so it made the Prince suspect they might not be considerable enough. He had been able to prevail but on a very small Number of all that Party he attempted to debauch; all the rest returning to *Salisbury*, abhorring the Treachery they were like to have been drawn into. The generality of the Soldiers, and most of the inferior Officers were of that Mind. On the other Hand, *Lovelace*, instead of drawing over the County, where he rose in Arms, to joyn with the Faction, had been attack'd near *Cirencester* by the Militia, taken, and committed, through the Duke of *Beaufort's* Care. On the other Side *Gifford* and *Sarsfield* had defeated a Party of the Prince of *Orange's*. This was the Posture of Affairs, when the Faction apprehending they had not taken their Measures right, resolv'd, in order to cut short, to seize the King. *Churchil* being pitch'd upon to put that Design in Execution, cunningly perswaded the King to go take a View of his advanc'd Gaurds, being the Part of his Army nearest the Enemy. His Majesty was going into his Coach, when a sudden Bleeding at the Nose oblig'd him to put it off to another Time. Before the Day was over he was inform'd from good Hands, that he was to have been carry'd off, and the Plot was laid to carry him to *Exeter*, had not Heaven, which provided for the Preservation of his Person, in order to make a longer Tryal of his Patience, happily prevented the Design. However *Churchil* went off to the Prince of *Orange*, with what Men he could carry over to him.

That Accident made his Majesty alter his Resolution, and think of marching his Army back towards *London*, to secure the Capital, and put a Stop to the Defection, the nearness of *Exeter* being a great Temptation to those that were not sincere. By the Way his Majesty understood, that he was betray'd by all the Prime Men in his Army, whom he had least mistrusted; the Prince of *Denmark*, his 2d Son in-law, the Duke of *Ormond*, and many others leaving him by the Way, to make for *Exeter*, and the Duke of *Grafton* being gone from *Salisbury*. This startled the Forces, and some of them began to disperse. The King being come to *London*, thought he could do no better, than to call together such Persons

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of Quality as had not yet declar'd, to consult with them about the Means of putting a Stop to the Evils that threat'ned the State. As soon as he had acquainted that Assembly with the Occasion that mov'd him to ask their Advice, he perceiv'd that part of them were either gain'd, or deluded by the adverse Faction. Among the rest, the Earl of *Clarendon* express'd himself so haughtily about the King's pretended Faults, as made it appear, which soon after hap'ned, that he would soon go meet the Prince of *Orange*. However the greater Part of the Company seem'd to be of those, who were only for obliging the King to call a Parliament, wherein his Authority might be circumscrib'd to those Bounds they should please to impose. They again demanded the calling of it, and advis'd that in the mean while, the King should send some Lords, to propose to the Prince some Accommodation, and desire him to forbear marching towards *London*, as he was then doing, till they were come to some Agreement.

The King's Condition was such, that he could refuse no Means for putting a Stop to a Revolution, which then seem'd unavoidable. Besides the Desertion of the Officers in the Army, he hourly heard of new Insurrections in several Counties. The Earls of *Bath*, *Manchester*, *Northampton*, and *Abingdon*; the Lords *Delamere*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, and many others had secur'd several Posts, and declar'd openly for the Prince of *Orange*. Even the Lord *Dartmouth*, Admiral of the Fleet, had been found faltering. His Majesty had sent the Prince of *Wales* to *Portsmouth*, in order to have him convey'd into *France*; the Marquis of *Powis* conducted him thither, and spar'd no Pains to ingage *Dartmouth* to serve the King upon such an essential Occasion; but that Admiral excus'd himself after such a manner, as confirm'd the Jealousy conceiv'd of him ever since he suffer'd the *Dutch Fleet* to pass by without fighting. The People of *London* were in a continual Agitation. The Catholics were every where plunder'd, insulted, and abus'd. The Courts began to proceed against them. The Earls of *Salisbury*, *Peterborough*, and *Sunderland*, tho' the King being sensible that he had been ill serv'd by the latter, had remov'd him from Court, and publick Business, had been summon'd to appear. The Princess of

Insurrections.

Den-

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A Parli-
ment sum-
mon'd.

Denmark, the King's Daughter, had withdrawn her self soon after her Husband. In this Distress, the King, tho' convinc'd, that a Free Parliament would not be so to him, however resolv'd to call it, to try this last Expedient towards saving some Remains of his Shipwreck, and issu'd the Writs for its meeting on the 15th of January. At the same time he deputed the Lords *Hallifax*, *Nottingham* and *Gadolphin* to the Prince of *Orange*, to let him know he should have Satisfaction; that there should be a Free Parliament, wherein the Grievances the Nation had complain'd of to him, should be examin'd, and fully redress'd. The Deputies were order'd to desire him to delay his March, that the Parliament might be left to the Liberty he was come to procure it. Besides, that nothing might be omitted, which could contribute towards a Peace, his Majesty had empower'd them to treat of an Accommodation, on such Terms as should be thought most agreeable to the present Posture of Affairs, and the publick Tranquility.

* In right
of his
Wife.

No thinking Man ever believ'd the Prince of *Orange* so fond of the *English*, as that he would secure their Liberties at so great an Expence and Trouble, whereas it was more his Interest to overthrow them, being the next Heir to the Crown after the Prince of *Wales* *. The Reception he gave that Prince's Deputies convinc'd such as had least in them of Suspicion, that his Designs lay quite another Way. He not liking the calling of a Parliament, which he foresaw would indeed be ty'd up by such Laws as would crush him, but which at the same time he fear'd would secure him on the Throne, when the Protestants had no more to fear from him, held on his March, and gave no Answer to the Deputies sent to him, till he was near enough to *London* to awe those who were not wholly come into his Design. There he spoke so haughtily, and offer'd his Majesty such intolerable Terms; that the Monarch, being also privately inform'd by one of his three Deputies, that there was no Security for his Person in any Part of the Kingdom, thought fit to give way to the Iniquity of the Times, and go seek a Sanctuary in the Arms of that same Friend, whose Assistance he had refus'd.

Before he provided for himself, the King took care of the Queen, and Prince of *Wales*. *Dartmouth* refusing

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*The Queen
and Prince
escape into
France.*

to carry him over into *France*, he had been brought back to *London*. On the Night between the 9th and 10th of *December*, the Count de *Lauzun*, since Duke, being then at the Court of *England*, contriv'd with the King, how the Queen and Prince should make their Escape, and was successful in his Undertaking, being one of the most fortunate Adventures of his Life. *Roya*, an *Italian* belonging to her Majesty; *Labadie*, a *French* man, Servant to the King, Persons of try'd Fidelity, were order'd to furnish all Necessaries for the Passage, and find Means to go from *Whitehall* to the Vessel. It was not without much Danger of being stop'd and discover'd, that a Queen and a Prince but 5 Months of Age could get out of their Palace, at a time when the Infant's crying might have broken the best Measures that could be taken. They disguis'd themselves, and got down Back-stairs and By-ways, cross'd the River, and went from *London* to *Gravesend*, where *Labadie* had hir'd the Vessel that was to carry the Royal Family into *France*, the Prince never crying all that while. They were several times in danger of being stop'd by Watchmen and Guards, who suspected all they did not know to be Catholics making their Escape, and look'd upon all they would carry off as free Booty. On the *Thames* they had Rain, Wind, and rough Water, amidst the Dread of a Night so dark, that they could not see one another. The Queen on the other side of the River waited in the Rain under the Church Wall, for a Coach that was making ready. The Curiosity of a Man that came out of the Inn with a Light, gave cause to apprehend lest her Majesty might be discover'd. He was making up towards the Place where she stood, when *Roya* perceiving it, follow'd and jostled him, so that they both fell in the Mire. This was a happy Diversion, for the Man believing it had been an accidental Jostle, they both made their Excuses, and so the Matter ended. They got into the Coach, and to the Vessel, where *Labadie's* Wife, who knew the Commander, showing her self first, kept him in Discourse, till the Queen, who was dress'd for an *Italian* Lady, that was going into her own Country with her Family, went into the Cabin provided for her, with the Nurse, who carry'd the Prince. The Duke and Duchess of *Powis*, Governess to the little

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little Prince, the Countesses *Dalmon* and *Montecuculi*, with others of their Retinue, imbark'd at the same time, with 3 *Irish* Captains, sent purposely by the King to observe the Commander of the Vessel, in case upon any Discovery he should fail in his Duty. There happen'd to be no need of that Precaution. The Vessel hoisting Sail, had a happy Passage, and arriv'd safe at *Calais*. The Queen would have expected the King there, he according to the Agreement made between them, being to follow the next Day; but he not appearing, she proceeded to *Boulogne*, where two Religious Men and an Officer, who had made their Escape out of *England*, told her such News as put her Courage upon a Trial, which only God could support. They told her, that his Majesty, having got away successfully from *Whit-hall*, and the City, and all the way to the Sea, had imbark'd in order to follow her; but that the Vessel being ill ballasted, he had been oblig'd to go ashore again, to take in more Ballast, where he was known, and detain'd near *Feversham*. This was all they knew, and so the Queen was left miserably dubious about the King her Husband's Fate, till being at *Montreuil*, she receiv'd other News, which comforted and brought her into a more sedate Temper of Mind to admit of the noble Reception she had from his most Christian Majesty; that Prince sparing for nothing that he thought might alleviate her Misfortunes.

*The King
taken at
Feversham.*

*Returns to
London.*

The King of *England* having been stop'd, as was said above, Advice of it was sent to *London*. The Lords were met there upon the Report of his Escape, and understanding that before his Departure he had cancell'd the Writs for calling the Parliament they desir'd, they publish'd an Order, wherein they openly declar'd for the Prince of *Orange*, still supposing him to be come to call a Free Parliament, and by that means to secure their Religion and Liberties. Four Deputies of theirs were gone to the Prince of *Orange*, when the News came of the King's being taken up; whereupon the Lords meeting, sent the Earl of *Feversham*, with his Coaches and Guards, to bring him back to *London*. He was receiv'd there by the Multitude with such Shouts, Acclamations, and Expressions of Affection, as can scarce be express'd. That was a Day of Triumph

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for him; no Man remember'd he had ever seen the like. Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, and all things us'd on the greatest Solemnities to testify Joy, was now practis'd.

The Prince of *Orange*, who was no Stranger to the Humour of the Country, had foreseen what would happen, and endeavour'd to prevent it. He had sent *Zule-stein*, a Gentleman of his Retinue, to *Feverham* with a Letter, wherein he desir'd the King, but in such a haughty Strain as look'd like a Master's Order, not to return nearer to *London* than *Rocheſter*. I know not by what Accident that Letter was not deliver'd to the King till he was at *London*, which vex'd the Prince of *Orange*. The King lending the Earl of *Feverham* to *Windsor*, where he had halted, to invite him to take up his Quarters at the Palace of *St. James's* in *London*, allowing him to be there with his own *Dutch* Guards, to the End they might have a personal Treaty, and amicably adjust the Means for ſatisfying all the Ends of his Declaration; the Prince by his Uſage towards the King's Meſſenger, made it appear, that his Ends and thoſe of his Declaration were not the ſame; for under colour of the Earl's having diſbanded the King's Army, tho' it was done by poſitive Orders, he arreſted, and did not diſcharge him till there was no more Danger of a Treaty; and at the ſame time ſent 2000 of his Men to *London*, who having drove away the King's Guards, ſecur'd all the Gates and Avenues to *Whitehall*. Nor did he ſtop there; but the next Morning, before the King was awake, ſent the Lords *Halliſax*, *Delamere*, and *Shrewsbury*, to acquaint him, that being himſelf ready to come to *London*, it was not thought fit they ſhould be both there together, and therefore he might chuſe either *Hampton Court* or *Ham* to withdraw to with his Family.

The King being more fully convinc'd than ever, that there was no Safety for him in *England*, at a time when his own Subjects durſt preſume to bring him ſuch Orders from his Enemy, and holding his Reſolution to go over to his Family in *France*, desir'd to go to *Rocheſter* inſtead of *Ham* or *Hampton-Court*, that had been propos'd to him. The Prince of *Orange* ſaw into his Deſign, and having conſider'd of it, concluded it was advantageous to his own, for it would cut ſhort, and ſave him much Trouble, which could not be avoided without taking

1688. taking violent Courses, the mildest whereof must have laid such a Blemish on his Name, as the Crown could never wipe off. This is suppos'd to be the Motive that prevail'd with him to permit the King his Father-in-law to go to *Rochester*, and when there, to be guarded after such a manner, as has satisfy'd all the World, he was well enough pleas'd he should make his Escape, as he did. The King being negligently guarded, slip through a Garden, that had a Door to the *Thames*. Having provided a Vessel to be ready there, he went aboard, and setting Sail with the Duke of *Berwick*, arriv'd at *Ambleteuse*, in the Beginning of *January*, 1689, and proceeded thence to *St. Germain* to the Queen, where his most Christian Majesty receiv'd him with the greater Joy, as having been much in Pain for the Danger he was in.

1688. The *English* being incens'd at the late Behaviour of the Catholicks, made them the first on whom they ventur'd their Relentment after his Majesty's Escape. The People of *London* began by plundering their Houses, burning their Chapels, and insulting them several ways; and in that Tumult they spar'd not the *Spanish* Ambassador, tho' so much a Friend to the prevailing Faction, but was the first they fell upon. There is no expressing the Outrages they committed in that Minister's House; his Furniture, his Library, his Plate, his Household-stuff was all taken away, or burnt. The Envoy from the Great Duke of *Tuscany* underwent the same Fate. The Natives of the Kingdom were worse us'd than Foreigners; they were by publick Authority commanded to depart *London*, and such Persons of Quality as could not follow their King into *France*, were committed to Goal. The Earls of *Salisbury*, *Castlemain*, and *Peterborough*, the Lord *Montgomery*, and many more, lay in Prison a long time, and were at last enlarg'd upon such Terms, as have prevail'd with some to prefer the voluntary Banishment they still live in before returning to their Country, where such as still remain have the Mortification of seeing their Estates bear the Charge of the War against their lawful Sovereign. The Earl of *Sunderland* withdrew into *Holland*, where returning to the Religion he had solemnly abjur'd, he confirm'd the scandalous Reports that had render'd his Loyalty suspected. Those Protestants that continu'd firm to the King shar'd in the

Perse-

Persecution. The Lord Chancellor *Jeffereys* was committed to the Tower, and dy'd there; his Majesty conferred that Honour on the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, Brother to the Admiral, who still holds it at *St. Germain*, Dead since with less Business than his Predecessor. The Earl of the *Aurbo* *Middleton*, Secretary of State, having been as firm to writ. his Duty, had the same Fate.

The Prince of *Orange*, who always watch'd all favon- The P. of rible Conjunctions, took this of the aforesaid Commo- Orange tions to make his Entry into *London*. He was receiv'd comes to with all those Acclamations, and Expressions of Joy, London, which are there usual to the last Comer. All Societies congratulated him upon the Success of his Enterprize, and thank'd him for the Zeal he had express'd for the Nation. The Lords met, and address'd him to take upon him the Government, till the Three Estates could be assembled, not as a Parliament, which can only be done by the King; but by the Name of a Convention, which was fix'd for the beginning of *February* next ensuing.

The House of Commons having long carry'd the The Con- Sway in all matters of Government, the Faction, which vention, had resolv'd to place the Prince of *Orange* on the Throne, took care in the first Place to have as many Members as they could return'd that were favourable to their Designs, and next to bring over those that were not of their own Appointment; and they were but too successful. The Convention being met, it was not long before these Questions were put: Whether a Catholick King were not Incapable of wearing the Crown? Whether King *James* the Second had not by his Maleadministration, and his withdrawing out of the Kingdom, broken the Original Compact there is between Sovereigns and their Subjects? And whether his Withdrawing was not a Desertion, or Abdication? Such of the Lords as still retain'd some Affection for the Monarchy, and foresaw the Consequence of those Questions in a Government, whose main Basis is the Hereditary Succession, were amaz'd to hear them, perceiv'd their Error, and several of them did what they could to retrieve it. Their Party was at first considerable enough, to obstruct their own House's consenting to the Resolutions of the Commons upon all those Articles, which were there carry'd by

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*Debates
about the
King.*

by Plurality of Votes, to the King's Disadvantage. They were for some Time canvass'd and controverted among the Peers; upon those Arguments some of them alledg'd for the better Side. They represented, it must seem strange to all Nations in the World, to declare, that a Catholick King was incapable of weilding a Scepter, which had from the Days of *Egbert* to *Queen Elizabeth* been sway'd by Forty Catholick Kings; that it was not long since all *England* had by positive Addresses disclaim'd that Principle; that both the Universities had condemn'd it as Erroneous; that the Parliament of 1685 had judg'd it so pernicious to the Publick, that it offer'd to put a Mark of Infamy on all those who had been for excluding the Duke of *Tork* from the Throne; that all the Nation having own'd that Prince, even at a Time when he publicly profess'd himself a Catholick, it would be a ridiculous Incongruity, to pretend that Religion was an Obstacle to Reigning; that, as to the pretended Compact between the Sovereign and the People, it was a pernicious Chimera, often condemn'd, as opening a Gap for all Seditious Persons to raise Troubles; that they could not give the Name of *Desertion*, or *Abdication* to the Withdrawing of a King, who was dissatisfy'd with, and abandon'd by his Subjects to the Mercy of a Foreign Nation, his Royal Character expos'd to be insulted by the Multitude, and himself in the Hands of a Prince, who gave Laws to him, seiz'd him in his own Dominions, and of whom he was told such Things as gave him Cause to fear the worst; that the Offers several Times made by his Majesty to the Nation, and the Prince that protect'd it, for treating with them, and giving full Redress to all their Grievances, were sufficient Amends for the Faults laid to his Charge; that several Letters he had actually writ from *St. Germain*, to the Two Houses of the Convention, and to private Persons; his Protestations against the Proceedings of that Assembly, and the Methods he took for recovering of his Dominions, were Proofs that he had not abdicated; and if he had deserted, it was only the Country, where he thought not his Person in safety, and not the Throne, which he still look'd upon as his own; that he was not the first King of *England*, who had done so; for during the Reign of the Saxons, *Ethelred* fled

into

into *Normandy*, and among the *Plantagenets*, *Edward the Fourth* went over into *Flanders*, and yet *Henry the Sixth*, his Competitor, did not think he had thereby gain'd any new Right to the Crown; that in the Circumstances King *James the Second* had been reduc'd to, the Case of Kings must be very hard, if they alone among all Men might not be allow'd to shun Danger, which is only to be avoided by Flight; that when a Man sees his House a fire, and cannot quench it, he goes away, and saves himself that he may re-build that which cannot be sav'd.

These and such like Reasons, either deliver'd by Word of Mouth, or in Writing, kept the House of Lords some Days up against the Resolutions of the Commons, and sometimes the Plurality in it prevail'd for the better Side; but the Faction labouring indefatigably to gain Votes, the Plurality insensibly came over to the other Party, and the controverted Points were at last carry'd against the King. The Throne was declar'd Vacant.

That Point being gain'd, the next Question was about the Form of Government. A Commonwealth, a Regency, and the Continuation of Monarchy in another Person were all propos'd. A Commonwealth was only favour'd by some in private; the Regency had enough to espouse it openly; but Kingly Government was concluded on, and it was naturally to be transferr'd to the Prince of *Orange*. They were at some Trouble to decide by what Title he should claim the Possession. That of Election was degrading an Hereditary Crown; That of Conquest incompatible with the Liberties of the Nation. Succession could not take Place since the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*; but no mention was made of him, and the Princess of *Orange* suppos'd Heiress to the Crown. It was resolv'd to bestow the Title of King on the Prince her Husband, and still proceeding contrary to all the Rules of Hereditary Monarchies, it was declar'd, that in Case he surviv'd his Wife, he should continue King in wrong to the Princess of *Denmark*, who was Heiress to her Sister; and in Case that Princess hap'n'd to die without Issue, the Crown should revert to the Prince's, if he had any.

These Resolutions being pass'd, the Convention drew up Articles to secure the Nation against those Grievances,

The Throne
declar'd
vacant.

Convey-
ance of the
Crown.

Votes of
the Con-
vention.

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ces, which had been a Pretence for the Revolt. Among other Things it was declar'd, that the Power of dispensing with Laws, and suspending the Execution of them was an Abuse, and Illegal, unless those Dispensations and Suspensions were authoriz'd by Parliament: that extraordinary Commissions, like that granted by the King in the late Reign for Ecclesiastical Affairs, were contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, and destructive to the Liberty of the People; that it was not lawful for the King to raise, or maintain an Army in Time of Peace, without the Consent of Parliament; that all Sums of Money rais'd without Consent of the Parliament, should be adjudg'd Illegal; that the Corporations which had a Right of sending Representatives to the Parliament, should be left to their full Liberty to chuse such as they thought fit, and those Representatives should have entire Freedom to speak, to give their Opinions and Vote as they judg'd for the Publick Good; that all Subjects might make their Complaints to the King, and address him; that it should not be in the King's Power to pardon such as should be impeach'd in Parliament, which alone had Right definitively either to condemn, or clear them; that no Prince, or Princess of the Blood Royal should marry a Catholick; that for the Security of these Articles, and many others express'd in that Act, a Parliament should be call'd at least every three Year. These Terms seem'd hard to a Prince, who had Sense enough to foresee all the Consequences of them; and he is said to have been surpriz'd at them; but after all, he perceiv'd, he should soon be in a Condition to observe no more of them than he thought fit. Besides that, to make the lessening of the Regal Authority go down the better with him, instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which contain'd an Engagement of Fidelity to the King, and were therefore abolish'd, they substituted another of Fidelity to the Prince and Princess of Orange. After which, the Princess being come out of Holland, they were both proclaim'd, and the Convention being chang'd into a Parliament, Preparations were made to Crown them, which Ceremony was perform'd on the 11th of April. The Archbishop of Canterbury positively refus'd to perform that Function, as also to take the new Oath, which only the Bishop of St. Asaph, of the Seven that had the Contest above-mention'd with the

*Prince and
Princess of
Orange
proclaim'd,
and
crown'd.*

1689.

the King, ever took, the others chusing rather to lose their Benefices, which were actually taken from them. No Catholick would take it, and even many Protestants held out a long Time, among whom were the Earls of *Clarendon*, of *Exeter*, of *Litchfield*, and of *Tarmouth*, who tho they staid in *England*, held their Resolution. The Prince did not come to Extremities with any Person on that Account, and was satisfy'd with obliging all Catholicks and Nonjurors to pay double Taxes, which gives them an Opportunity since they cannot expose their Lives, at least to sacrifice their Estates for their Religion, and their King.

It was not long before *Scotland* follow'd the Example of *England*. It is true the Revolt there grew to a Head more slowly, and the King found more there that would bear Arms for him. They could scarce forget that King *James* the 2d was that Duke of *York* to whom the Nation had made so many voluntary Proteftations of perpetual Fidelity. The Prince of *Orange*'s Enterprize, and the Practices of the *English* seem'd at first only to move their Horror and Indignation; but at length the ill Example, and Courtship of *England*, communicated to the *Scots* the Disposition of their Neighbours, and engag'd them to run with the Stream they might have stopp'd. They follow'd the same Steps, calling a Convention, which they afterwards chang'd into a Parliament. They declar'd the Throne Vacant, and sent the Son to the late *Argyle*, *Dalrumple*, and that *Montgomery* who afterwards went away to the King, to offer the Crown to the Prince of *Orange*. They invented a new Oath, and omitted nothing that might conduce to make it appear that they had outdone the *English*. They found it more troublesome than the others had done to put the Prince they had chosen into a peaceable Possession. They had seiz'd and imprison'd the Earl of *Perth*, Lord Chancellor, Elder Brother to the Earl of *Melfort*, and a Catholick as well as he, being a Man to be fear'd for his Virtue and Zeal for the King's Service. The Earl of *Lauderdale* and many more had the same Measure as the Chancellor, being confin'd, and not enlarg'd till there was no more Cause to fear them, and they made use of their Liberty to embrace Banishment. Notwithstanding all this, there were brave Men enough that escap'd being imprison'd, to disturb the Rebels, and have put a Stop

Proceedings in Scotland.

1689.

Gordon,
Dundee,
&c.

to the Revolution, had they been ever so little supported from abroad. The Duke of Gordon held out a tedious Siege in the strong Castle of *Edinbraugh*. The Vice-Count *Dundee*, the Earl of *Dunferlin*, the Lord *Dunkel*, Canon, and other *Montrosses* of that Time, kept the Field long with the loyal *Highlanders*, the constant Refuge of the Kings, in Times of Rebellion. The Courage, Conduct, and indefatigable Activity of those Men warm'd with that Zeal which Virtue and Duty inspire, never yielded till reduc'd to Extremity, when the great Hopes *Ireland* had given that all might be recover'd, vanishing, they lost all Expectation of Relief.

Affairs of
Ireland.

Ireland was the soudest Part of the King of *England's* Dominions, that had been corrupted by the Commotions. The *Irish* being for the most part Catholics, the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who was so too, found it easy to keep most of the Island Dutiful to its lawful Sovereign. The Capital gave the Example, which was follow'd by the most considerable Places on both Seas, and to the Southward; the Insurrection being confin'd to the North, and its Head Quarter at *London Derry*. It being known, that the *English* earnestly press'd the Prince of *Orange* to send considerable Supplies into *Ireland*, the King's Presence there was thought necessary to prevent them, and it was concluded, that the Country abounding in good Soldiers, the Honour of fighting in the Presence, and under the Command of their Monarch, would as soon as he should appear gather a sufficient Number to make him Master of the Posts possess'd by the Rebels, before they could be reliev'd. He went over, and came to *Dublin* about *Easter*, attended by the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who had met him at *Cork*, where that Prince created him a Duke. It was thought convenient that his Majesty, making his Advantage of those first Impulses of Zeal which his Presence had rais'd in the *Irish* of his own Communion, should immediately go show himself in the North. He did so, and his March struck a Terror into the Rebels, who abandon'd *Colerain*, and *Kilmore* made little Opposition. He proceeded to *Londonderry*, and summon'd it; but one *Walker*, a Parson, who had made himself Governour, appear'd so resolv'd to defend it to the last Extremity, that the King being in haste to raise Forces to oppose the *English* Army, then preparing to pass the Sea against him, was oblig'd to return

The King
there.

to Dublin, after giving Orders for the Siege of Londonderry.

He wanted not Soldiers; but those Soldiers wanted most Things necessary for carrying on the War, except Courage and Good-will. Arms, Ammunition and Money were all very scarce in a Country, which the prevailing Nation has been so long draining. There were but few Officers that truly understood the Trade of War, and it is reasonable to think it requir'd more Time than they could promise themselves, to discipline new-raisd Men. The King made the best Amends he could for so many Wants. He had brought over with him out of France, *Rose, Maumon, Pusignan, Lery, Boiseleau*, and some other brave and experienc'd Officers, given him by his most Christian Majesty. Among his own he might reckon upon the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of *Berwick*, the Grand Prior, *Maxwel, Sheldon, Wachop, Southerland, Dorington, Sarsfield*, and the *Hamiltons*. He had carry'd over with him some Arms, some Ammunition, and some Money. The Siege of *Londonderry* had oblig'd him to leave part of all those things there; but the *Marquis de Chateau-Regnauld* having brought him a fresh Convoy, after repulling *Herbert*, who attack'd him by the Way, he at last made up a little Army, whose Eagerness to ingage seem'd to make amends for their Want of Arms. The Summer was spent in these Preparations, during the which some other Troops abroad under several Commanders, had various Success that was nothing decisive. All Mens Eyes were upon London: the Success of *Londonderry*, closely attack'd, but resolutely defended by *Walker* and his Garkison. They were reduc'd to Extremity; tho' *Maumon, Pusignan*, and many other brave Men had been kill'd. It being well known that Major *Kirk* was to bring them Relief, the Entrance into the Port had been stop'd up with great Chains made fast to Stakes. The Besieged were in want of all things, and reduc'd to a Necessity of capitulating, when *Kirk* broke the Chain, and having opportunely reliev'd the Place, oblig'd the Besiegers, who had lost abundance of Men, and spent all they had at the Siege, to draw off without doing any other good, besides making the Enemy the weaker by 5 or 6000 Men they are said to have lost, either by the Sword or Famine.

The

Schomberg in Ireland.

The History of the Revolutions in England,

The Arrival of an *English* Army under the Command of the Marechal *de Schomberg* made the King leave *Dublin* to oppose him. The Marechal having landed his Troops in the County of *Down*, was there join'd by *Kirk's*, who after securing some Places in the North, came and encamp'd with him at *Dundalk*. The King advanc'd to *Drogheda*, and offer'd Battel, which the Marechal refus'd. The Armies lay a long time encamp'd almost in sight of one another, and yet the King could never draw the Enemy to a Battel. The Marechal lost more Men than he would have done in two Engagements, by Sickness, which rag'd among his Forces as soon as landed. During the rest of the Summer that he continu'd intrenching, and part of the Winter when he took up his Quarters in such Places as were least expos'd, above 12000 of his Men dy'd. The King not being able to force him, seiz'd his Post, when he left it, and having fortify'd it, retir'd to *Dublin*.

1690.
K. William in Ireland.

The Winter was spent in Preparations, which the Posture of Affairs in *Europe* render'd extraordinary unequal. The Prince of *Orange* being still press'd by the Parliament of *England* to succour the Protestants in *Ireland*, resolv'd to go over in Person, as he did the following Summer 1690, and joining Marechal *Schomberg*, march'd with 45000 Men and 60 Pieces of heavy Cannon towards *Dublin*, to meet the King. His Majesty had receiv'd some more Arms from *France*, besides a Supply of 5000 of the most Christian King's Forces, commanded by the Count *de Lauzun*, and among other General Officers, the Marquis *de la Hoguette*, taken away since by an honourable Death in *Piedmont*. With this Reinforcement, which could not be greater because of the League of the whole Empire, *England*, *Spain*, the United Provinces, and the Duke of *Savoy* against *France*; the King of *Great Britain's* Army could not be much above 20000 Men, many of them half arm'd, and without any Artillery but 12 Field Pieces carry'd out of *France*. The King being in this Condition, concluded, that unless one of those Victories wherein the Justice of the Cause and Valour makes amends for want of Numbers, did bring him off, he should be hard drove; and if he retir'd, his Men losing much of that Courage, which made them so eager to fight, he should lose the Country, without having made any Attempt to save it.

This

1690.

Fight at
the Boyne.

This Consideration made him resolve to go meet the Prince, to expect him at the *Boyne*, and fight him in passing it. That Prince was soon there with all his Forces and his 60 Pieces of Cannon, and the Battel was fought on the first of July, taking its Name from that River. The Success was such as could be expected from the Inequality of the Forces. It might not have been impossible for it to have succeeded better for the King, that lost it, notwithstanding all the Inequality, had his Orders been obey'd, had some Troops that pass'd over a Ford at a distance on the Left, been attack'd as soon as he commanded it, whilst part of his Guards and Dragoons disputed the Passage of a near Ford with the Marechal *Schomberg*, who was there kill'd, and whilst his Right Wing stood his Enemies Charge. They were too slow on the Left, and too hotly attack'd on the Right by the Cannon and superior Numbers. The Right Wing was broken and routed, notwithstanding the Bravery of the Duke of *Berwick*, so well known upon several other Occasions, of the *Chevalier de Hocquincourt*, who dy'd there, and of *Richard Hamilton* taken Prisoner.

The Rout.

Then the Count de *Lauzun* coming up to the King, show'd him he was like to be hemm'd in, and could look for nothing but a good Retreat, desiring he would leave that Care to him, and so many brave Officers, who would omit nothing that might conduce to it. The Advice was too reasonable not to be follow'd by a Prince, who was neither of an Age, nor of a Disposition to end his Days in Despair. The King submitting to his Fate, or to speak as his Majesty thinks, submitting to the Decrees of Providence, took *Sarsfield's* Regiment, and retir'd to *Dublin*, whilst the Count, the *French*, *Sheldon*, and other Officers, contriv'd to make a Retreat, which they did by the Enemies Confusion, in good Order and very honourably.

Both Parties blam'd one another for not making an Advantage, the one of their Victory, the other of their Retreat. Those who write for the Prince of *Orange*, condemn the King for leaving *Ireland* too soon, and those that staid behind for having ill brought together the Remains of a Rout, wherein they had lost but few Men, the Number of the Slain, according to them that say most, not being above 1500. Those on King *James's* Side charge the Prince with not pursuing his Victory, with

348 The History of the Revolutions in England, &c.

1690.

Battel of
Aghrim.

with coming late to *Dublin*, an open Place without any Defence, and with giving the King's Forces Time to rally at *Limerick*, *Galway*, and other Places strong enough to hold out a considerable time, which occasion'd the War to be protracted, after the King was gone, he having left *Dublin* immediately after his coming thither, in order to withdraw into *France*; that the Prince of *Orange* had been oblig'd to raise the Siege of *Limerick* with great Loss on his Side, and much Honour to the Royalists, and particularly to *Mont. de Boissieu*, and to return into *England* without finishing his Conquest, which he had been disappointed of, had not *Sr. Ruth*, in the Battel he fought near *Ashlone*, in the Year 1691. with the *English* commanded by *Ginkle*, been kill'd by a Cannon Ball, after he had broke all the Enemies Foot, and as he was actually giving Orders for pursuing that Beginning of Victory, which was stop'd by his Death, and given to his Enemy; that the second Siege of *Limerick*, sustain'd with so much Reputation, and concluding by one of the finest Capitulations that ever was seen, might have been a Means for retrieving the Royal Party, had *Ireland* lain so conveniently to be reliev'd by *France*, then attack'd by all *Europe*, as it was to be invaded by *England*, for which so many Nations were fighting. Those who know the Design that mov'd the King to make such haste out of *Ireland*, might add to all this, that he had thought of a Diversion, which would have set the Prince of *Orange* hard, had not one only Circumstance whereon it depended disappointed it.

But it was King *James* the 2d's Fate, not to sacrifice his Crowns by halves to his Religion, till he has fulfill'd the Time of his Trial. It was for the Advantage of that Religion, that the Professors of it should have such an Example before their Eyes; it was for the Honour of the King under whom I write this History, to add to those Titles which have given him the Name of the Great, that of supporting so good a Cause alone, and make the Justice of it known by the winning of seven pitch'd Battels, by the Conquest of several Provinces, and the strongest Places in the World reduc'd under his Empire, notwithstanding all the Efforts of so many Potentates gather'd together against the Lord and against his Christ.



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The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1900, in the several townships of the County of York, Ontario, at the annual election held on the 2nd day of November, 1900.

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APPENDIX

THE
ROYAL FAMILY
OF THE
STUARTS
VINDICATED,
From the *False Imputation* of ILLE-
GITIMACY, &c.

THE
ROYAL FAMILY
OF THE
STUARTS
VINDICATED

From the False Imputation of ILLE-
GITIMACY, &c.



APPENDIX.

The ROYAL FAMILY of the STUARTS Vindicated from the false Imputation of Illegitimacy, &c.

IT is a receiv'd Christian Principle, that to expose the Faults or Defects of our Neighbour, which were secret before, tho' they be true, is an irreligious and criminal Practice, as rendring those Persons so expos'd either infamous or contemptible, whose Reputation had till then stood fair in the Eyes of the World. If the revealing of such Truths be an Offence in the Sight of God, and all good Men, what Excuse can there be for slandering and reproaching of others upon Surmises, flying Reports, and Uncertainties? This must surely be a great Aggravation of the Offence. But when Malice and Design are the Motives inducing to rob Men of their Honour and Esteem, without any regard to Truth, or previous Examination of the Matter, this is allow'd one of the vilest and most heinous Crimes that corrupt human Nature can be guilty of; far exceeding Robbery, or even Murder it self, in as much as a good Name is more valuable than all worldly Goods, or this mortal Life. For tho' *Ecclesiasticus* be not allow'd Canonical Scripture, it is printed in the Bibles, and allow'd to be read in Churches, and there, chap. 41. v. 12, & 13. we have these Words: *Have regard to thy Name; for that shall continue with thee above a thousand Treasures of Gold. A good Life hath but a few Days;*

THE
ROYAL FAMILY
OF THE
STUARTS
VINDICATED,

From the False Imputation of ILLE-
GITIMACY, &c.

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A Days;

Days ; but a good Name endureth for ever. And Solomon in the Proverbs, which are not Apocryphal, c. 22. v. 1. says, *A good Name is rather to be chosen than great Riches,* and Eccles. 7. 1. *A good Name is better than precious Ointment.* It were endless to quote profane Authorities, and no less superfluous, in a Case so universally allow'd, that even those whom their profligate Courses have render'd incapable of Reputation, will stand up for it when call'd in question.

There is another Consideration in this Particular, which is the Dignity of the Person dishonour'd, and the greater that is, the more unpardonable must be the Wrong offer'd; for those whom Providence has rais'd to a superior Rank, require a higher Degree of untainted Fame to support them in the Esteem of their Inferiors, and the good Opinion of their Equals. Thus it appears, that to slander and defame Kings and Princes, to whom the Government of Kingdoms and Nations is committed, must be, if not in the Letter of the Law, yet in Conscience and Reason, the worst of Treasons; for the readiest way to dethrone and destroy a Monarch, is to blacken and vilify him, that so by degrees the Reverence due to him may be turn'd into Contempt, the Love into Hatred, and the Obedience into Contradiction; and then is he easily pulled down from his Throne, the Crown drops from his Head, and when that is off, the Head is easily lop'd from his Shoulders. In order to this, what Method can be found more effectual in an Hereditary Monarchy than at once to bastardize the whole Royal Line, which is undermining the very Foundation on which the Throne is settled, and that done, there needs only knocking down the Props to let it sink, and setting Fire to the Train to blow it out of the Nation. No Royal Race has had so many of its Members cruelly murder'd, or been so outrageously revil'd, affronted and bespatter'd, as that of the *Stuarts*. Since its Exaltation to Sovereignty, which was in the Year 1371, and but 339 Years past, there have been no less than five crown'd Heads of them cruelly and unjustly destroy'd. King *James* the First murder'd at *Perth*, *An.* 1436, by the Contrivance of the Earl of *Arbol*; King *James* the 3d, *An.* 1485. by the Rebels at *Bannockburn*; *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnley*, proclaim'd King of *Scotland*, carry'd to Queen *Mary*, soon



soon after murder'd at *Edinburgh, An. 1567.* Queen *Mary of Scots*, no more justly made away in *England*, and King *Charles the First*, inhumanly butcher'd before his own Palace. To rip up the Calumnies heap'd upon this same Family since its first Accession to the Throne, were endless, and is here from the Purpose, having only undertaken to confute the vile Imputation of Illegitimacy formerly laid upon it, and now lately reviv'd.

The first Broacher of it was *Hector Boetius*, who slightly names it, through Ignorance, upon some sinister Report, there being no antient Record to prove any such thing; and he writing at a Time when the Spirit of Rebellion began to prevail, and about 200 Years after the Days of King *Robert* here spoken of. Besides that Writing at *Aberdeen*, remote from the Records, which might have better inform'd him, he had not the Opportunity of being undeceiv'd; and *Hollingshed*, in his Catalogue of Writers of *Scotland*, tells us, *His Style in many Parts goeth beyond the Truth of Times, Places and Persons, in the Scottish History.* *Buchanan* laid hold of and improv'd this Mistake of *Boetius* with the utmost Malice, as being an inveterate Enemy to Monarchy, and wretched Slanderer of the *Stuarts* Family; but being to speak of him hereafter, I shall here only add the aforecited *Hollingshed's* Character of him, in the above-mention'd Catalogue of *Scotch* Writers, which runs thus: *George Buchanan, an Irish Scot, greatly learned, but many times maliciously affected, and that so vehemently, as that he would not forbear, in the highest Degree of Malice, to upbraid and backbite every Person and Nation, which had offended him, as may appear by his immodest Speeches, not befitting a Man of his Learning, &c.*

The last who has had the Presumption to defame the Royal reigning Family with this false Charge of Bastardy, is an Anonymous Writer in a scandalous Pamphlet or Libel, first call'd, *Vox Populi Vox Dei*, and in another Edition, *The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Power and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges and Properties of the People, &c.* The said Paper is so full of Falshoods, Absurdities, and Scandal, that any Man of Sense would believe it unworthy the least Regard; and yet the Publisher in his last Edition boasts of having sold 8000 in less

less than 7 Months, which is a singular Testimony of the Ignorance of the People, and of the great Industry us'd to stir up the Multitude to cast off all Obedience to Superiors, and to disrespect and contemn the ruling Family; in which Particular he may well vye with the Infamous Sir Edward Payton, who in the Year 1652, under the Usurper Oliver Cromwel, spit all the Venom his dull Brain could vent against the same Family. To come to the Point, this present Defamer of Crown'd Heads delivers himself thus, in his aforementioned Pamphlet, call'd, *The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations*, &c. p. 22. § 53.

In North Britain all the Race of the Stuarts, after Robert the First, had no other Title to the Crown of Scotland, but by Act of Parliament against the Legitimate and Right Line: For the said Robert having had three Sons and one Daughter by a Concubine, named Elizabeth More, to whom he afterwards marry'd to one Grifford, himself at the same Time taking in Marriage Euphemia, the Daughter of the Earl of Ross, by whom he had Issue, Walter and David, Earls of Athol and Strathern; and Euphemia, that afterwards marry'd to James Douglas, Son to the Earl of Douglas. The aforementioned Robert, upon the Death of his Wife Euphemia, and of Grifford, the Husband of Elizabeth More, did marry his former Concubine Elizabeth More; but obtain'd by an Act of Parliament, that the Children begotten upon her in Concubinage should inherit the Crown, and the Lawful and Legitimate Children by his Wife Euphemia should be excluded.

These are the Words of that Pamphlet in the Place above quoted, for which, the Publisher being, as I am inform'd, under Prosecution, he has omitted them in his last Edition, whereof the Reader is desir'd to take Notice, lest not finding them there he be perswaded that Author is wrong'd. This Libel the said Author in his Title, *Recommends to be kept in Families, that their Children's Children may know the Birth-right, Liberty, and Property belonging to an Englishman.* Whereas the meaning can be no other, than to have those Children brought up in Aversion and Contempt of the Royal Family, kept in Ignorance of the Truth, and instructed in Forgery and Falsifying. But to proceed to the Proof of the Legitimacy of the Stuarts, in answer to the afore-
said

said Calumny, we shall here produce authentick Records, under the Hands of the two *Roberts*, Father and Son, Kings of Scotland, and the Persons concern'd in this Particular, and those Records so substantially verifi'd, and so well back'd with Authorities, that there remains not the least Pretence for questioning the Truth and Antiquity of them; unless it be among those who are resolv'd to believe nothing but Scandal, or at least to propagate it, tho' never so groundless. Our Proofs are taken out of *F. Mabillon, De re Diplomatica*, which have never before appear'd in *English*; and being in Books of great Price and in the *Latin* Tongue, are not known to all Persons. The Original Charters are set down both in *Latin* and *English*, for the Help of those who do not understand the former, and that those who do may be satisfy'd they have a fair Translation. Somewhat is added out of Sir *George Mackenzy's Jus Regium*, to corroborate the other. I shall therefore premise no more, but leave those Authors to speak for themselves.

The Third Part of the APPENDIX to the SUPPLEMENT, to the R. F. John Mabillon's Six Books, De re Diplomatica, or of ancient Charters, Grants, Instruments, &c.

Containing the Authentick Instruments for proving of the Legitimate Original of the Royal Family of the STUARTS in Great Britain; from the Paris Edition.

The first Publisher's Preface.

WE have been prevail'd upon to publish the remarkable and undoubtedly Authentick Instrument of *Robert Stuart*, King of Scotland, at the Instance of some most worthy Persons, who judg'd it a wrong to Literature, and to the Kingdom of Scotland, to suffer it to lie any longer bury'd in Obscurity. For by means of this Instrument a notable Controversy

about the Right and Title of the Royal Family of Scotland is decided ; the Birth of *Robert the 3d.* King of Scots, is vindicated from an unjust Aspersions ; the Mistake of *Hector Boetius*, and some other Writers of the *Scottish* History is discover'd ; and above all, the Slanders of *George Buchanan*, a most inveterate Enemy to the Royal Family and Kingly Government, who industriously, and as it were of set Purpose endeavour'd to fix a Note of Infamy on that Prince's Birth, are wip'd off, and all the Arguments drawn from his Testimony against the Royal Succession of that Family are fully overthrown. His most virulent History sufficiently testifies how much he wrong'd *Queen Mary*, as does his most pestilent Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, how implacable an Enemy he was to Kings ; both which Books were condemn'd in Parliament, under King *James the 6th.* in the Year 1584. However *Buchanan* impos'd upon very many, and more especially Forreigners ; who not being well enough acquainted with the Affairs of Scotland, could scarce suspect him guilty of Falshood, whom they admir'd for his Art and Elegancy.

But having been often convicted of Falshood and Slander in the History of the Transactions of his own Time, it being an easy matter to discover the Truth elsewhere, he deceiv'd the fewer in that Part, but drew many more into Errors as to remoter Antiquity, the Memory whereof was more obscure, and particularly in Relation to the Birth of King *Robert the 3d.* This Prince was Son to *Robert the 2d.* of the Name, King of Scotland, and first of the Family of the *Stuarts* that ascended the Throne, from whom is descended the most august Prince and best of Kings, *James the 7th.* *Buchanan*, who was a mighty Favourer of the Bastard Earl of *Murray*, an ambitious Man, who openly aspir'd to the Crown ; as also to please the Factionous Party, who extoll'd the Authority of the Parliament beyond all Measure, was resolv'd to leave an Instance in his History of Bastards having attain'd to the Crown by their Authority. To this Purpose, he in his History delivers as a Certainty, the Fable *Boetius* in a doubtful manner had brought forth, of *Robert the 3d.*'s being born out of lawful Wedlock, and chosen King to the Exclusion of the lawful Issue. He writes, that *Robert Stuart* succeeding

ding his Uncle *David*, in the Year 1371, was then marry'd to *Euphemia*, Daughter to the Earl of *Ross*; and she dying soon after, he substituted into her Place *Elizabeth More*, whom he had been deeply in Love with in his Youth, and had three Sons by her, the Eldest whereof was *John*, who changing his Name, was call'd *Robert* the 3d; and that he prevail'd in the Parliament held at *Scots*, to have the Children of *Euphemia* post-pon'd, and Age preferr'd before Legality of Birth in the Succession of the Crown. Thus if we may believe *Buchanan*, the Crown did not descend to *Robert* the 3d by Right of Succession, but was conferr'd on him by the Authority of the Parliament. This was what the Rebels would be at, who had rais'd so many and so great Commotions in their Sham Parliament, on pretence of reforming Religion, as overthrew the Religion of their Ancestors, and was like to involve the Royal Prerogative in the same Ruin. This was the way laid open for *Murray* to aspire to the Crown; and *James*, Duke of *Monmouth* follow'd the same Example, when he undertook to invade the Kingdom, after the Death of King *Charles* the 2d. Had *Buchanan* had the least regard to his Nation, to his Country-men, or to Truth, he ought to have made out a Matter of that Consequence, which utterly overthrew the Right of Succession, ever inviolably preserv'd, by undeniable Instances and Testimonies of Authors. But he did not; nor indeed could he, as having no Witness to produce but *Hector Boetius*, whose Authority was altogether insufficient, as being overthrown by several Manuscripts and Charters, especially considering he writ his History almost 200 Years after the Marriage of *Robert* the 2d. But those who are acquainted with *Buchanan's* Behaviour and Disposition, will easily perceive how much a Stranger he was to that Truth and Sincerity, which is the most commendable Quality of an Historian, as having rather made it his Business to write what was likely than what was true. However, tho' that History was legally condemn'd, and several Times prov'd false by King *James* the 6th himself; yet scarce any Man for near 100 Years undertook to expose that Imposture about the Birth of *Robert* the 3d; but it was always much applauded by such as were fond of Innovation, by Rebels, and by King-killers, as long as no Man dispell'd that extraordinary Ignorance

In Matter of such Moment by the help of publick Acts and better Authors. The first that attempted it, with much Honour, was *Sir George Mackenzey*, the King's Advocate in *Scotland*, an excellent Civilian, extraordinary knowing in the Affairs of his Country, and most commendable for his singular Loyalty to his King. *Mackenzey* publish'd a Dissertation, under the Title of, *Jus Regium*, in his Native Tongue, Anno 1684; with another annex'd to it, call'd, *De legitimorum hereditum Successione*. In it he produces the Testimony of *Lewis Stuart*, a famous Civilian; he also commends several publick Acts, and Instruments; among all which, we are of Opinion, there is none to compare with that we now publish out of the Archives of our College. It contains the Foundation of a Chaplainship erected in the Church of *Glasgow*, on account of the Dispensation, for contracting of Matrimony, between the said Robert Stuart, and the late Elizabeth More, whilst living, notwithstanding the Impediment of Consanguinity and Affinity. It is dated the 12th of January, 1364, and subscrib'd among the rest by *John Stuart*, Lord of *Kyle*, his eldest Son and Heir, who having chang'd his Name upon his Accession to the Crown, was call'd Robert the 3d. King *David*, the last of the Family of the *Bruces*, dy'd, according to *Buchanan's* Computation, in the Year 1370, and was succeeded by *Robert Stuart*, his Nephew by his Sister, who, according to the same *Buchanan*, was then marry'd to *Euphemia*, Daughter to *Hugh*, Earl of *Ross*. But if *Elizabeth More* dy'd before the Year 1364, if *John* had the Title of Eldest Son in publick Acts, and in the Parliament; and lastly, if his Mother was so solemnly marry'd, that it was requisite to procure a Dispensation from the See Apostolick on Account of Consanguinity; all Mankind must be sensible that all *Buchanan's* Fable will fall to the Ground, especially considering it could never yet be confirm'd by any sound Testimony, or publick Acts; but on the contrary it is disprov'd by the undoubted Testimonies of Authors and ancient Instruments; As shall manifestly appear by what follows. But it is requisite in a few Words to declare how this Instrument came to our College.

James of *Beaton*, or *Bethune*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Nephew by a Brother to *David*, Cardinal and Archbishop

shop of *St. Andrews*, who was wickedly murder'd by the Reform'd, perceiving that Churches and Monasteries were every where plunder'd and ruin'd, under the false Colour of Reformation, thought it the wisest Way to secure the Acts and Records of his Church. Being accordingly forc'd to fly in the Year 1568, he came into *France*, and brought them over with him. He dy'd at *Paris*, above 80 Years of Age, in 1603, having been Embassador from Queen *Mary* and her Son King *James* the 6th for the space of 40 Years, with extraordinary Reputation. He, in love to his Country, by his last Will left all he had to this College of ours, founded by *David*, formerly Bishop of *Murray*, in the Year 1525; for which Reason he is deservedly look'd upon as the second Founder of the said College. Several publick Acts and Instruments belonging to the Church of *Glasgow* are laid up and preserv'd, partly in this College and partly in the *Charter-House*, or Monastery of the *Carthusians* in *Paris*, to whose venerable *F. R. Priors*, the supreme Direction of the College is committed. Among others of the greatest Note is that Grant of *Robert* the 2d, above-mention'd.

We did not think fit to publish the said Grant, till it had been examin'd by Men of the greatest Learning, and most skilful in Ecclesiastical Antiquities. This was done last Year, on the 26th of *May*, several eminent Persons, famous for their Knowledge in Antiquities, being assembled to that Purpose in the Royal Abbey of *St. Germain des Prez*, and in the Presence of some Prime Men of the *Scottish* Nobility. All these having view'd the Instrument, and carefully examin'd it, concluded there was not the least Ground to question its Authority and Validity. They acknowledg'd the Antiquity of the Hand, saw the Seals entire, and perceiv'd the Letters, the Phrase of that Age, and the Custom generally then in use, that Dispensations should not be granted without imposing some Works of Piety, such as the founding of Altars, or Chaplainships. Thus the Grant being view'd was unanimously approv'd of by all their Votes, and five authentick Instruments of it, all of the same Tenor were made, and sign'd and seal'd by them all; the first for his most Serene Majesty, the King of *Great Britain*; another for the Metropolitan See and University of *Glasgow* in *Scotland*, this Instrument having

ving formerly belong'd to the Archives of that Metropolitan Church; the third for the Royal Abbey of *S. Germain des Prez*, in the Suburbs of the City of *Paris*; where the Meeting of the aforeſaid renown'd Persons for examining of the Inſtrument was held; the fourth for the *Scots College* at *Domay*; and laſtly, the fifth, together with the Original Authentick Grant, was laid up in the Archives of our College of *Paris*, to be there preſerv'd. A Copy of this Grant ſhall follow theſe Obſervations, together with two other Inſtruments taken out of the Archives of our College; the one of *Robert* the 2d, after his Acceſſion to the Crown; the other of *John*, his Eldeſt Son, about whom the Controverſy is, and who, as was above-mention'd, having aſcended the Throne, chang'd his Name and was call'd *Robert* the 3d.

Thus *France*, the moſt ancient Ally of *Scotland*, and ſeveral Times honour'd by having entertain'd that Royal Family, has happily preſerv'd, not only the Hopes and the Hundred and Tenth Heir of the *Scottiſh* Crown, but alſo a Teſtimony of undoubted Authority, which clears the ſaid Family from any Suſpicion of being tainted in its Original.

*The Chronology of Robert the 2d, King of Scotland,
of the Family of the Stuarts.*

A. D. According to true
History.

1315. *Robert Stuart* is born
of *Walter High
Stuart of Scotland*,
and *Margery*,
Daughter to *Robert* the 1st, ſir-
nam'd *Bruce*.

1336. *Robert Stuart* is cho-
ſen Proteſtor of
the Kingdom.

About 1349. *Robert* marries *Eli-
zabeth More*, and
has by her *John*,
(afterwards King

A. D. According to *Bu-
chanan*.

1315. *Buchanan* has the
ſame.

1376. *Buchanan* has the
ſame.

About 1340. *Robert* has *John*,
and o-
ther Children
by *Elizabeth
More*

Robert the 3d, Robert Earl of Menteith, and other Children.

More his Concubine.

About 1360. *Elizabeth his first Wife being dead, Robert had Walter, David, and other Sons by Euphemia Ross.*

About 1360. *Robert marries Euphemia Ross, his first Wife, and has by her Walter, David, and other Children. Gives his Concubine Elizabeth More in Marriage to one Giffard.*

1371. *David the 2d, his Uncle dying, Robert, the 2d of the Name succeeds in the Throne.*

1371. *Buchanan has the same.*

1373. *Queen Euphemia Ross, Robert's second Wife is crown'd.*

1374. *Queen Euphemia Ross, Robert's first Wife dying, Robert takes Elizabeth More, formerly his Concubine, for his 2d Wife, and holding a Parliament, causes his Children formerly begot on her out of Wedlock, to be declar'd Legitimate.*

1390. *Robert the 3d dies, and is without any Opposition succeeded by John, his Son by Elizabeth More, who is call'd Robert the 3d.*

1390. *Buchanan has the same.*

Charta Roberti Seneschalli Scotiae

- a. **O**mnibus hanc cartam visuris vel auditoribus Robertus Seneschallus Scotiae, Comes de Strathern, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum dudum venerabilis Pater Dominus Willelmo Dei gracia Episcopo Glasguensi fuerit per litteras apostolicas specialiter delegatum, ut super matrimonio contrahendo inter nos & quondam Elizabeth More, dum ageret in humanis, nonobstante impedimento consanguinitatis & affinitatis contractui Matrimonii predicto impedimentum prastante, auctoritate apostolica dispensaret, dummodo duas cappellas vel unam pro arbitrio ipsius Episcopi perpetuo fundaremus, ac dictus venerabilis Pater, consideratis in hac parte considerandis, nobiscum super impedimento predicto auctoritate qua supra dispensans nobis inunxerit, ut una cappellania in Ecclesia Glasguensi ad unum certum altare ad pensionem decem marcarum Sterling. Annuatim percipienda, de certis redditibus nostris fundaretur perpetuo, nosque eandem cappellaniam sic fundatam fideliter promiserimus infra certum tempus jam transactum, nobis tunc per dictum Episcopum limitatum; noverit universitas vestra nos ex causa premissa dedisse, concessisse, & hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse pro nobis & heredibus nostris perpetuo DEO, Beate Mariæ Virgini, Beato Kentegerno & uno Cappellano celebranti & celebraturo perpetuo in Ecclesia Glasguensi predicta decem marcas Sterling. ad sustentacionem eiusdem Cappellani annuatim percipiend. de annuo redditu quadraginta librarum Sterling. exeunte de terra del Cars Abbatis infra vicecomitatum de Strivelyne, & nobis & heredibus nostris debito per religiosos viros Abbatem & conventum Monasterii Sanctæ Crucis de Edinburgh, tenend. habend. & percipiend. annuatim in perpetuum eidem Cappellano qui pro tempore fuerit per manus dictorum religiosorum ad terminos Pentecostes & sancti martini in hyeme per porciones aequales in liberam, puram, & perpetuam elymosinam adeo libere, quiete, plenarie, & honorifice, sicut aliqua elymosina per totum regnum Scotiae liberius conceditur, percipitur, sive datur; & nichilominus totum jus nobis competens per cartam infeodacionis recolenda memoria Domini Regis Roberti avi nostri, sive obligatorium dictorum Abbatis & Conventus, seu quascunque alias evidencias ad compellendos dictum Abbatem & Conventum ad solucionem dicti annui redditus decem marcarum in Episcopum Glasguensem

gnenſem qui pro tempore fuerit, & Capitulum Glaſguenſe
 ſede vacante, per hanc cartam noſtram perpetuo transferi-
 gunt, ipſosque & eorum alterum, quantum ad hoc, noſtros
 & heredum noſtrarum assignatos, & assignatum facimus con-
 ſtituimus, & eciam ordinamus. Et ſi ſorte contingat, quod
 abſit, quod dicta decem marca annua per dictum cappella-
 num qui pro tempore fuerit, percipi non potuerint, ut eſt
 dictum, vel ex eo quod dicti Abbas & Conventus ſolvere
 voluerint, aut compelli non potuerint ad ſolucionem earundem,
 vel ex eo quod nos aut aliquis heredum noſtrarum, contra
 preſentem infeodacionem & conſeſſionem noſtram, ſolucio-
 nem dictarum decem marcarum impeaſerimus aut impedi-
 verit, aut nos ſeu alium vel alios, clam vel palam, directe
 vel indirecte procuraverimus ſeu procuraverit impeaſci
 obligamus nos & heredes noſtros per omnia bona noſtra mo-
 bilia & immobilia ad ſolvend. dictas decem marcas de alijs
 redditibus noſtris, ubi Episcopus Glaſguenſis qui pro tempore
 fuerit, vel capitulum ejusdem ſede vacante, duxerit eli-
 gend. toto tempore quo ceſſatum fuerit a ſolucionem dictarum
 decem marcarum percipiend. de annuo redditu ſupradicti,
 ſubſicientes nos & heredes noſtros juridiſſionem & coherſionem
 Episcopi Glaſguenſis, & ipſius Officialis qui pro tempore fu-
 erit, ut ipſi per omnimodam cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam nos &
 heredes noſtros compellere valeant ad perficienda omnia &
 ſingula ſupradicta in caſu quo defecerimus vel defecerint,
 quod abſit, in aliquo premiſſorum. Et ultra omnia preſcri-
 pta nos & heredes noſtri predict. donacionem & conſeſſio-
 nem noſtram de dictis decem marcis annuis percipiendis, ut
 ſupra de annuo redditu ſupradicto predictis Episcopo, Eccle-
 ſie Glaſguenſi & Cappellano qui pro tempore fuerint contra
 omnes homines & feminas warrantizabimus, acquietabimus,
 & in perpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei teſtimonium ſi-
 gillum noſtrum una cum ſigillo Johannis Se-
 neſcalli Domini de Kyle primogeniti & he-
 redis noſtri preſentibus eſt appenſum. Hijs
 teſtibus, Venerabili Patre Domino Roberto
 Abbate Monasterii de Kilwinnyne, & Do-
 mino Johanne Senecallo fratre noſtro, Hu-
 gone de Egglyntonne & Thoma de Fauſide
 Miſtribus, Johanne Mercer burgensi de
 Perth, Johanne de Roſe, & Johanne de
 Tayt Armigeris noſtris, & alijs. Apud Perth
 duodecimo die menſis Januarii, Anno Domini
 milleſimo tricenteſimo ſexageſimo quarto.

The Pla-
 for the
 Seals.

This

This is a literal Copy as to Orthography, Punctuati-
on, and all other Particulars, inserted for the Satisfacti-
on of such as shall desire to see it in the Original *Latin*;
next follows as literal a Translation for those who may
not understand the *Latin*.

The Grant of Robert Stuart of Scotland.

TO all that shall see or hear this Grant, *Robert Stuart of Scotland, Earl of Strathorne*, wishes ever-
lasting Health in the Lord. It having been long since by
Apostolical Letters referr'd to the Venerable Father,
Lord *William* by the Grace of God Bishop of *Glasgow*, to
dispense by Apostolick Power in the Marriage to be con-
tracted between us and the late *Elizabeth More*, whilst
she was among the Living, notwithstanding the Impedi-
ment of Consanguinity and Affinity obstructing the a-
foresaid Contract of Matrimony, upon condition we
should found two Chapels, or one, at the Will of the
said Bishop, for ever; and the said Venerable Father
having taken into Consideration what was to be consi-
der'd in this Affair, and dispensing with us as to the a-
foresaid Impediment by the abovemention'd Authority,
having enjoin'd us to found one perpetual Chaplainship
in the Church of *Glasgow*, at one certain Altar, with a
Pension of ten Marks Sterling to be yearly receiv'd out
of some of our Revenues; and we having faithfully pro-
mis'd so to found the said Chaplainship within a certain
Time now elaps'd, and then assign'd us by the said Bi-
shop; be it known to you all, that we for the aforesaid
Reason have given, granted, and by these Presents con-
firm'd for us and our Heirs for ever to GOD, the Blef-
sed Virgin *Mary*, *St. Kentegern*, and one Chaplain now
celebrating, and for ever to celebrate in the aforesaid
Church of *Glasgow*, ten Marks Sterling, for the Main-
tenance of the said Chaplain, to be yearly receiv'd out
of the yearly Revenue of Forty Pounds Sterling, proceed-
ing from the Lands of *Dei Cars* Abbey in the Vice-
county of *Stryvelhne*, and due to us from the Religious
Men, the Abbot and Community of the Monastery of
Holy Rood in *Edinburgh*, to be held, had, and receiv'd
yearly for ever by the said Chaplain for the Time being,
from the Hands of the said Religious Men at the Terms
of *Whisfuntide*, and *S. Martin* in the Winter, by equal
Por-

Portions, for a free, pure and perpetual Alms, as freely, quietly, fully and honourably, as any Alms throughout the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* is freely granted, receiv'd, or given; and nevertheless by this our Grant we do for ever transfer all the Right belonging to us by the Instrument of Enfeoffment of our Lord and Grandfather King *Robert*, or the Bond of the said Abbot and Community, or any other Evidences whatsoever to compel the said Abbot and Community to the Payment of the said yearly Revenue of ten Marks to the Bishop of *Glasgow* for the Time being, and the Chapter of *Glasgow* upon the Vacancy of that See, and we do make, constitute and appoint them, or either of them, the Assigns, or Assign of us and our Heirs, as to this Particular. And if it should happen, which God forbid, that the said ten yearly Marks cannot be receiv'd by the said Chaplain for the Time being, as has been said, either by reason the said Abbot, and Community shall refuse to pay, or cannot be compell'd to the Payment thereof, or by reason that we or some one of our Heirs, contrary to this our present Enfeoffment and Grant, shall obstruct the Payment of the said ten Marks, or by our selves, or any other or others, shall underhand or openly, directly or indirectly procure the obstructing of the same; we do oblige our selves and our Heirs, with all our Estates Real and Personal to pay the said ten Marks out of other of our Revenues, wheresoever the Bishop of *Glasgow* for the Time being, or the Chapter upon the Sees being vacant shall think fit to appoint, as long as the Payment of the said ten Marks to be receiv'd out of the aforesaid Revenue shall cease, subjecting our selves and our Heirs to the Jurisdiction and Compulsion of the Bishop of *Glasgow* and his Official for the Time being, that they may by all sorts of Ecclesiastical Censures compel us and our Heirs to perform all and every thing abovesaid, in case we or they should fail, which God forbid, in any of the Premises. And besides all that is abovesaid, we and our Heirs will warrant, secure and defend the aforesaid Gift, and Grant of ours, of the said ten Marks to be receiv'd yearly as above out of the aforesaid yearly Revenue, to the aforesaid Bishop, Church of *Glasgow* and Chaplain for the Time being, against all Men and Women. In Testimony whereof our Seal, together with
the

the Seal of *John Stuart* Lord of *Kyle*, our Eldest Son and Heir, is affix'd to these Presents. These being Witnesses, the Venerable Father Lord *Robert*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Kilmynnyne*, and the Lords *John Stuart* our Brother, *Hugh de Eyghintonne*, and *Thomas de Fauside*, Kts. *John Mercer*, Burger of *Perth*, *John de Rose* and *John de Tays* our Esquires, and others. Given at *Perth* on the Twelfth Day of *January*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Three Hundred and Sixty Four.

Historical Observations on the Grant of Robert Stuart of Scotland.

- a. **R**Obert Stuart of Scotland.] He was the Son of *Walter Stuart* of Scotland. His Mother was *Margery*, eldest Daughter to *Robert Bruce*, the first of the Name; for which Reason *David*, the only Son to *Robert* the 1st dying without Issue, in the Year of our Lord 1270, this *Robert Stuart*, succeeded him in the Throne, in the Right of his Mother; being the second of the Name, and first of the most ancient and noble Family of the *Stuarts*. The Dignity of the Great Seneschal, or *Stuart*, as call'd in their Language, was of the chiefest Authority among the *Scots*, like that formerly of Mayors of the Palace among the *Franks*.
- b. *To William, by the Grace of God Bishop of Glasgow.*] This was *William* the fourth of the Name, of the House of *Ros*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, who took Possession of that See in the Year of our Lord 1335, or 1336. There were several Original Papers or Instruments under his Name, among the Records of the Church of *Glasgow*; and among the rest two authentick Acquittances for the Contributions of his Diocess to the Pope, in the Years 1340, and 1341. He dy'd in the Year 1367.
- c. *Concerning contracting of Matrimony.*] It positively appears by these Words, and the whole Tenor of this Grant, that *Robert Stuart* and *Elizabeth More* were lawfully joyn'd in Matrimony, by Virtue of the Pope's Dispensation, long before this Grant was made. There can

can be no Controversy concerning the Dispensation, since the Instrument of the Foundation of the Chaplainship here spoken of is an undoubted Testimony of it. Which Argument fully confutes the Audaciousness of *George Buchanan*, who durst presume to write, that this *Robert Stuart*, and *Elizabeth More*, were not joyn'd in Matrimony till the Year 1374, that is, ten Years after the Date of the Instrument, which testifies they had been long before lawfully marry'd. But a farther Demonstration of *Buchanan's* Folly is, that, as appears by the following Words of this Grant, *Elizabeth* was dead in the Year 1364, and consequently could not be marry'd to *Robert Stuart* ten Years after. *Elizabeth* was Daughter to the renowned *Adam More*, Knight, and Chief of the Family of *More*, or *Moor*, ally'd by Affinity and Consanguinity to the most potent Race of the *Stuarts*, as most evidently appears by this Instrument.

Of John Stuart, Lord of Kyle; our first begotten Son and Heir.] Thus in the Year 1364, *John* was publickly call'd *Robert's* Lawful Son and Heir. For it is plain, by what will be said below, and needs no farther Proof; that the Title of first begotten, and Heir, was never given in publick Instruments to any born out of lawful Wedlock. *Buchanan* therefore in this, as well as in other Things, falsely writes, that he was unlawfully begotten by *Robert* in his youthful Years upon *Elizabeth*, but afterwards legitimated by the subsequent Marriage of his Parents. But the more evidently to discover, how ignorantly, or rather impudently this Author, a most inveterate Enemy to all Kings, and Kingly Government, durst presume to asperse this Prince's Birth, we have thought it requisite to discuss the whole matter somewhat more accurately.

All *Buchanan's* Fiction seems to be contain'd under these two Heads, 1st. That *Euphemia Ross* was first Wife to *Robert Stuart*, and that she dying in the Year of our Lord 1374, after having bore him several Children, *Robert* took to his second Wife *Elizabeth More*, by whom he had formerly had this *John* who now speak of, and other Children, before they were marry'd. 2dly. That *John* was not declar'd legitimate, or legitimated, and made capable of succeeding him any other-wise than by this last Marriage of *Robert* and *Elizabeth*,

beth, and an Act pass'd by the Three Estates in Parliament.

The Fallhood of the first Assertion is thus demonstrated. In the first Place, it has been made appear above that *Robert* and *Elizabeth* were marry'd long before the Year 1364; it follows therefore that *Elizabeth* was *Robert's* first Wife, and not *Euphemia*. Next it manifestly appears, by what has been said, that *Elizabeth* was dead before the Year 1364; therefore she could not be the second Wife in the Year 1374. Lastly, that renown'd Person *Lewis Stuart*, Advocate to King *Charles* the 1st of *Great Britain*, in a certain Schedule written with his own Hand, which the worthy *Sir George Mackenzy*, who was also the King's Advocate, inserts in his Book entitled, *Jus Regium*, testifies, that he found above twenty Records in the Archives of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which make it as clear as the Sun, that *Elizabeth* was *Robert's* first Wife, and *Euphemia*, or *Euphania* Ross the second. And thus much as to the first Head of *Buchanan's* Account.

The Arguments are of no less Force for confuting the other Part of the Fable, wherein *Buchanan* affirms, that *John Stuart* was legitimated, or declar'd legitimate, and capable of the Succession, by Virtue of the Marriage of *Robert* and *Elizabeth*, contracted in the Year 1374, and the Act of the Three Estates in Parliament held that same Year.

First, This Marriage of *Elizabeth*, who was dead ten Years before, is altogether absurd; and consequently the Legitimation grounded on it is fictitious.

Secondly, There is not the least Memorial to be found of this Act of Parliament among the Records of the Nation, which are preserv'd with the greatest Exactness imaginable; notwithstanding all the publick Acts have been examin'd by Men extraordinary well vers'd in those Affairs. Among others the noble *Sir John Hayes*, Knight, *Custos Rotularum*, or Keeper of the Records under *Charles* the 1st, King of *Great Britain*, being by him commanded strictly to search all Acts of Parliament, found all quite contrary, and so reported it to the King. Besides the aforementioned *Lewis Stuart*, the King's Advocate in the same Reign, commended by *George Mackenzy*, p. 47 of the

the aforesaid little Book, having carefully examin'd the Records of the Kingdom, manifestly convicted Buchanan's Relation of Falshood. We give here his own Words, because the Testimony of so great a Man is of don Edmighy moment in this Case. Buchanan (says he) in his 9th Book, in the Life of Robert the 2d, affirms, that Euphania, Euphemia Rofs, Daughter to the Earl of Rofs, was first Wife to Robert the 2d; and that after her Death he took Elizabeth More, by whom he had before three Sons, and was marry'd to her, and appointed her Son Heir to the Crown, as the Eldest of them afterwards succeeded him. Which how false it is, plainly appears by the Records kept in the Castle of Edinburgh; where there are still extant the Acts of two Parliaments, subscrib'd by the Hands of the Clergy, Prelates, Nobles, Barons, and other Estates of Parliament, and confirm'd with their Seals, by which Elizabeth More is acknowledg'd to have been the first Wife, and Euphania Rofs the second; and the Succession of the Throne is entail'd upon the Children of Elizabeth More as true Heirs, and after them upon the Children of Euphania Rofs. There are also in the same Place several Records extant, made by David, their great Uncle, for several Lands, to John, the eldest Son of his Nephew Robert, whilst Euphania Rofs was still living; as also to David, eldest Son to Euphania Rofs, whom he only calls Son to his Nephew Robert; which he would not have done, if Elizabeth More had not been first marry'd to his Nephew Robert. Nay I have found above 20 Records in the Archives, and lest them there, by which it appears as clear as day, that Elizabeth More was the first Wife, and Euphania Rofs the second. For beyond all Controversy Elizabeth More's Children were elder than the Children of Euphania Rofs. Thus far he; by which all Men must perceive, that the Act of Parliament mention'd by Buchanan must be fictitious.

Thirdly, John was look'd upon as his Father's lawful Son, and capable of succeeding him before the Year 1374, in which Buchanan places the Marriage of Robert and Elizabeth, and the said John's Legitimation. This appears by publick Instruments, by which he is before his Father's Accession to the Crown nam'd his Father's eldest Son and Heir; and during his Father's Reign he has those Titles given him, which belong to none but to the lawful and undoubted Heir of the Crown.

We have already seen John still'd his Father's eldest Son and Heir in Robert's Charter, we here speak of. But the Title of Eldest Son and Heir, is never given to a Bastard, as was above observ'd, by that most knowing Person in the Laws of Scotland, Lewis Stuart. Another Charter of the same Robert Stuart, dated in the Year 1345, and recommended by Sir George Mackenzy, in his Book, entitul'd, *Jus Regium*, p. 71. runs thus, Robertus Senescallus Scotiæ Comes de Strathern, & Johannes Senescallus primogenitus & heres ipsius, Dominus Baronia de Kyle, &c. That is, Robert Stuart of Scotland, Earl of Strathern, and John Stuart his eldest Son and Heir, Lord of the Barony of Kyle, &c. In another Charter of King David the 2d, Uncle and Predecessor to Robert Stuart, commended by the same Sir George Mackenzy, the Witnesses at the Bottom, according to the ancient Custom are set down in this Order, Robertus Senescallus Comes de Strathern nepos noster, Johannes Senescallus Comes de Carrick filius suus Primogenitus & heres, Thomas Comes de Mar, &c. That is, Robert Stuart, Earl of Strathern, our Nephew, John Stuart Earl of Carrick, his eldest Son and Heir, Thomas Earl of Mar, &c. These three Charters were writ before Robert's Accession to the Crown; and during his Reign John has those Titles given him, which at that Time belong'd to none, but the sole undoubted Heir of the Crown.

These Titles were, The King's eldest Son, Earl of Carrick, and Stuart of Scotland. In Robert's Charter, dated the first Year of his Reign, and of Christ 1371, on the 4th of December, which being Authentick is preserv'd in the Archives of the aforelaid Scots College in Paris, with the Great Seal of Scotland hanging to it, the Witnesses at the Bottom stand in this Order, Testibus Venerabili Patre Wilhelmo Episcopo Sancti Andreæ Johanne primogenito nostro, Comite de Carrick, & Senescallo Scotiæ, Roberto Comite de Meneteth, &c. That is, Witnesses, the Venerable Father, William, Bishop of St. Andrews, John, our eldest Son, Earl of Carrick, and Stuart of Scotland, Robert, Earl of Meneteth, &c. This Robert was Brother to John, by the same Mother Elizabeth, who, Buchanan falsely says, was created Earl of Meneteth, or Fife, in the Year 1374, upon occasion of the fictitious Legitimation, as also his Brother John only then and upon the same Occasion Earl of Carrick.

This Edition
the Edition
above is at
p. 197.

There is extant in the Archieves of the same College another Charter of the same John dated at Dundonewald, the 17th of December, this same first Year of his Father's Reign, and of Christ 1371. The said Charter begins thus, *Universis ad quorum notitiam presentes Litterae pervenerint* Johannes primogenitus Roberti Dei Gratia Regis Scottorum, illustris Comes de Carric, & Senescallus Scotiae, &c. That is, To all those to whose Knowledge these Presents shall come, John eldest Son to Robert, by the Grace of God King of Scots, illustrious Earl of Carrick, &c. To this Charter hangs the said John's Seal entire, made in red Wax upon green, and being a Fesse Checkie, with a Lion passant in Chief. But the Seal he us'd when a private Man, has only the Fesse Checkie, being the proper Arms of the private Family of the Stuarts; whereas the Seal he made use of in this Charter, when his Father was King, and he Heir to the Crown, has the Lion passant added to the Fesse Checkie, which was the private Coat of the Family. For these were the Arms belonging to the Heir of the Crown, who added the Lion, being the National Arms of Scotland, to the Coat of the Family.

There is an authentick Instrument in the Archieves of the Castle of Edinburgh, dated the same Year 1371, and the first of the Reign of King Robert the 2d, made on account of the Oath of Fidelity by all the Estates of the Kingdom in Parliament, to the said Robert the 2d, and John (alias Robert) his eldest Son, and lawful Heir to the Kingdom, with the Seals of the Three Estates of the Kingdom hanging to it. Which Instrument Sir George Mackenzie says, he look'd into himself, p. 49 of the abovemention'd Book. And he farther affirms, he had in the same Archieves of the Kingdom seen several other Charters dated this same Year 1371, in which John is after the same manner call'd, Eldest Son, Earl of Carrick, and Stuart of Scotland. This Quotation is in the Edition above-mention'd p. 194.

Thus it appears to be most false that is related by Buchanan, that this John was created Earl of Carrick by his Father, and declar'd lawful Son to his Father, and capable of succeeding him in the Throne, in the 3d Year of his Father's Reign, and of Christ 1374.

Lastly, There is not so much as one Word of this fictitious Legitimation, and Act of Parliament, or of all this invented Fable of Buchanan, and some later Writers,

is the Manuscript Author of the History of Scotland, that is in the Library of our College at Paris. Which Argument, tho' negative, as they call it, seems to be of great moment in this Case; this Author having been born, as he himself testifies, fol. 179, in the Year 1286, or 1287, in the Reign of Robert the 2d, and was almost an Eye-witness, to what pass'd; and us'd to insist upon the smallest matters that regard the Genealogy of our Kings.

Besides it appears by this Author, that John, upon the Death of his Father Robert, was own'd King, and crown'd without any Disturbance. We will give his own Words, lib. 43. cap. 1. fol. 182. *In sequenti Vigilia Assumptionis vestra Domine, Die videlicet Dominica Anni Domini 1290, Johannes primogenitus Roberti II. Regis Defuncti, Comes de Carriek, apud Sconam regio more coronatus est; ubi de consensu Saronum vocatus est ab his Robertus III. In crastino sponsa sua Domina Annabella de Drummond, (eiusdem illustrissima familia Princeps est Jacobus Drummond, Comes de Perth, magnus Scotie Concellarius) Domina preclarissima diademate Regio insignita est. In die vero martis proximo sequenti Rex Fidelitatem & hominum sumpsit suorum liegiarum.* That is, On the following Eve of the Assumption of our Lady, viz. On Sunday in the Year 1290, John, eldest Son to King Robert the 2d deceas'd, Earl of Carrick, was crown'd at Scone in royal manner; where by consent of the States, he was for the future call'd Robert the 3d. The next Day his Wife, the Lady Annabella Drummond, (the Chief of that most illustrious Family is James Drummond, Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland) a most noble Lady, was also crown'd. And on the Tuesday following the King took the Fidelity and Homage of his Liege People. By which Words it manifestly appears, that John was unanimously admitted to succeed his Father, and the Oath of Allegiance taken to him by all the Estates of the Kingdom, and consequently by his Brothers by Euphemia, his Father's second Wife, and their Relations; which is scarce to be believ'd could have been done without some mighty Commotion, had there been any Scruple about the Legality of John's Birth; especially considering, he was render'd somewhat the more unfit for Government by a Fall from his Horse and other Infirmities; and that his Relations by the Mother's Side were

were not so powerful as those of his Brothers by *Euphemia Ross*.

Besides, according to *Buchanan* himself, the Government was, by reason of *Robert* the 3^d's Inability, by general Consent committed to his Brother *Robert* and his Nephew *Murdock* successively, without the least Regard had to the Sons of *Euphemia Ross*.

We will conclude these Observations with the Testimony of *Joannes Major*, formerly a famous Doctor of the University of *Paris*. He in his History of the *Scots*, written about the Year 1518, and the ancientest of all the Histories of that Nation that ever were printed, speaks thus of *Robert Stuart*, or *Robert* the 2^d, and his Marriages and Children, *lib. 4. cap. 6. fol. 121. Ex Elizabetha filia Domini Adam More tres filios Robertus II. Rex genuit, scilicet Johannem, qui postea fuit Rex (Robertus III.) & Robertum Albanie ducem & Alexandrum Buchanie Comitem. Postea ex Euphemia Rossensis Comitiss filia Galterum Comitem Atholie & Dominum de Brechin, & David Comitem de Straterven genuit. Mortua enim Elizabetha Regina hanc Euphemiam in conjugem accepit & Matrimonii gratia proles legitima sum.* That is, *King Robert the 2^d had three Sons by Elizabeth, Daughter to the Lord Adam More, viz. John, who was afterwards King, (Robert the 3^d) and Robert Duke of Albany, and Alexander, Earl of Buchan. Afterwards by Euphemia, Daughter to the Earl of Ross, he had Walter, Earl of Athol, and Lord of Brechin, and David, Earl of Straterven. For after the Death of Queen Elizabeth he took to Wife this Euphemia, and the Children were legitimated on account of the Marriage.* Thus he, who besides confirming ours and the true Opinion of *Elizabeth's* being dead before the Marriage between *Robert* and *Euphemia*, seems farther to have believ'd, that *Robert's* first Children by *Euphemia Ross* were born in Adultery, before Matrimony, whilst his first Wife *Elizabeth More* was still living, and not to have been otherwise look'd upon as legitimate than by the subsequent Marriage. And this perhaps was the Occasion of *Boetius's* Mistake, viz. That he erroneously apply'd that to *Elizabeth* and her Children, which ancienter Historians had deliver'd of *Euphemia Ross*, second Wife to *Robert* and her Children.

Charta Roberti II. Scotorum Regis.

Robertus Dei Gratia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terra sue clericis & laicis salutem. Sciatis nos quasdam litteras Johannis Kenedy de Donnonir super fundacione & dotacione cuiusdam capelle & trium capellaniarum juxta cimiterium ecclesie Parochialis de Mayboyl in comitatu de Carrick confectas de mandato nostro visas, lectas, & diligenter inspectas, non abolutas, nec in aliquo viciatas intellexisse ad plenum in hac verba. Universis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint Johaunes Kenedy Dominus de Donnonir parochia de Mayboyl diocesis Glasguensis salutem in omnium Salvatore. Quia inter alia per qua fideles Christiani firmam tenent fiduciam remunerationis eterne profunt veraciter & maxime oracionum suffragia & opera caritatis; quorum utrumque quis exequitur & complet efficaciter si ad divini cultus augmentum locum sacrum honorificum de bonis sibi a Deo collatis zelo fidei construat, & ipsum habunde dotat redditibus pro servicio ministrorum. Hinc ergo universitati vestrum notum facio, quod ego Johannes Kenedy predictus, de auctoritate venerabilis in Christo patris ac D. D. Walteri Dei gratia Episcopi Glasguensis fundavi & incepti quandam capellam in honore & sub nomine B. Mariæ Virginis juxta cimiterium Ecclesie parochialis de Mayboyl in comitatu de Carrick. Verum quia secundum canones, qui edificare vult, ante perficiat qua ad luminaria, qua ad custodiam, & qua ad stipendia Ministrorum sufficiant; idcirco ego Johannes supradictus pro me & heredibus meis dono & concedo Deo, B. Mariæ Virgini, omnibus sanctis, ac perpetuo tribus capellanis ibidem divina celebrantibus pro salubri statu mei, Mariæ uxoris mee, & liberorum meorum, quamdiu egerimus in humanis; & pro animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, nec non pro animabus omnium antecessorum & successorum nostrorum; & omnium fidelium defunctorum, decem & octo marcas terre de terris meis vicinis, contiguas sive annexis Ecclesie de Mayboyl & capella predictis, una cum octodecim bollis farinae de sicca multura de dicta terra percipi consuetas, ac decem marcas Scellingorum annuatim percipiendas de terra de Balintlewthane ad duos anni terminos consuetas & quinque marcas terre de Barrelelegeli, & sex marcas terre de Trenethane, & quinque marcas terre de Barrelach ad sustentationem ipsius ecclesie sive capelle, annis clerici & trium capel-

capellanorum, ut praefertur, in liberam, puram, & perpetuam elemosinam, & in dotem praefata capella, sine aliquo retinemento superioritatis secularis, exactionis, vel demanda. Et si dictae terras, annuos redditus, vel eorum partem aliquam a dicta capella evinci contigerit, obligo me, heredes meos, & assignatos, & omnia bona mea mobilia & immobilia, & specialiter terras meas de Donnonir, Tonergethe, & de Kylmekelly, ad dotandam dictam capellam, quatenus ab ea evictum fuerit & optentum. Volo etiam quod cujuscumque dictarum capellaniarum in perpetuum, cum vacaverit, praesentacia ad me & heredes meos spectet infra quatuor menses a tempore vacationis Episcopo Glasguensi, & sede vacante, ejusdem capitulo facienda. Ex tunc enim ad eos devolvetur libera provisio illa vice tantum, salvo mihi & heredibus meis in perpetuum jure aliis, in posterum vicibus presentandi: Dictae etiam terras & redditus, si qua onera ordinaria vel extraordinaria, aut consueva servicia ipsis emineant; ab hiis quibus debentur libera, alioquin alia terra mea de huiusmodi oneribus plenarie respondebunt. Blada vero dictorum capellanorum molentur in molendino meo Ronnifre post me ipsum & heredes meos & de multura ad vas vicissimum quartum. Insuper pro me & heredibus meis promitto, quod cartas confirmationis huius mea donationis dominorum meorum superiorum, videlicet illustris viri Domini Comitis de Carryk, & excellentissimi Principis Domini mei Regis Scotiae, ad finem quod iure alicujus eorum praesens mea fundacio in toto vel in parte retractari non possit, meis sumptibus procurabo. Si vero contingat, quod absit, me vel aliquem heredum meorum contra presentem fundacionem ipsarum capellaniarum aliquo unquam tempore in aliqua venia; obligo me, heredes meos in viginti libris Sterlingorum fabricae Ecclesiae Glasguensis & in viginti libris Sterlingorum ad ampliacionem & sustentacionem dictae capellae applicandas nomine pena, & in dampnis quod dictos capellanos qui pro tempore fuerint sustinere contigerit iuxta arbitrium superioris eorundem persolvend. obiciendi quociens contrarium fuerit; fundacione capellae, ejus dotacione, libertatibus, & pena continuatione nihilominus in suo robore duraturis; subicient me & heredes meos in praemissis omnibus & quolibet praemissorum jurisdictioni Episcopi Glasguensis, ut ego & heredes mei simpliciter de plano sine strepitu & figura judicii valeamus ad praemissa omnia & eorum quod libet per censuram Ecclesiasticam coherceri. Protestor insuper cum recolenda memoria venerabilis Pater Wilhelmus Episcopus Glasguensis, ultimo defunctus

aucto-

auctoritate litterarum apostolicarum mihi ex causa injun-
 xisset fundare unam capellaniam perpetuo duraturam, quod
 una istarum capellaniarum per me fundatarum sic cedat ad
 exoneracionem meam, quod ad aliam fundacionem eo pre-
 textu non teneat in futurum. In cuius rei testimonium
 sigillum meum, una cum sigillo Domini Gilberti Kenedy
 militis filii mei & heredis, ac etiam cum sigillo venerabi-
 lis in Christo patris, & D. D. Walteri Dei gratia Episcopi
 Glasguensis, una cum sigillo communi Capituli ejusdem, ad
 maiorem securitatem, presenti littere & uni altere ejusdem
 tenoris est appensum. Quarum litterarum una apud Glas-
 guense Capitulum perpetuo remanente, alia vero penes Ca-
 pellanos dictae capelle, per eos in loco quem elegerint custo-
 diend. Similiter duarum confirmationum Domini Comitis
 de Carrick, & duarum Domini nostri Regis ejusdem teno-
 ris quas impetrabo, una Comitis, & alia Regis, penes Glas-
 guense Capitulum, alia vero dua penes Capellanos, ut pre-
 fertur, perpetuo remanebunt. Datum apud Donnionir pre-
 dictum penultimo die mensis Novembris, Anno Domini mil-
 lefimo tricentesimo septuagesimo primo.

The Place
 for the first
 Seals.

Quas quidem fundacionem & dotacionem terrarum & red-
 dituum preditorum in liberam puram & perpetuam elemosi-
 nam, & in dotem ipsius capelle sic factas, juxta formam &
 effectum eandem litterarum in omnibus & per omnia pro
 nobis & heredibus nostris ratificamus, approbamus, & teno-
 re presentis carte nostre in perpetuum confirmamus. In cuius
 rei testimonium presenti carte confirmationis nostre nostrum
 precepimus apponi sigillum. Testibus venerabili in Christo
 Patre Willelmo Episcopo sancti Andree, Johanne primo-
 genito nostro Comite de Carrick & Senescallo Scocie, Ro-
 berto Comite Meneteth, Willelmo Comite de Douglas,
 Johanne de Carrick Cancellario nostro, Willelmo de Keth
 Marescallo nostro, Jacobo de Lyndesay, Roberto de Erf-
 kyne, & Hugone de Eglyntona Adalibibus. Apud Dun-
 donevald quarto die mensis Decembris, anno regni nostri
 primo.

The Place
 for the two
 great Seals.

Charta

Charta Johannis Comitis de Carrik & Seneschalli
Scotia.

Universis ad quorum noticiam presentes littere pervenerint Johannes primogenitus Roberti Dei gratia Regis Scottorum illustris, Comes de Carrik, & Seneschallus Scotiae, salutem. Cum dilectus & consanguineus noster Johannes Kenedy Dominus de Donnonir quamdam capellam in honore Beatae Mariae Virginis juxta cimiterium Ecclesiae parochialis de Maboylle in comitatu nostro de Carrik construxerit ad sustentationem trium capellanorum & unius clerici ibidem perpetuo divina celebratur. Necesse est, quam redditibus & possessionibus subscriptis dotavit, videlicet de decem & octo marcatis terra contigua & vicina sive annexa dictae Ecclesiae de Maboylle & capella predicta, una cum octodecim bollis farinae de sicca multura de dicta terra percipi consueti, ac decem marcis Sterlingorum annuatim percipiend. de terra de Balincelenwhane ad duos anni terminos consuetos, & quinque marcas terras de Barrecleych, & sex marcas terras de Trenechane, & quinque marcas terras de Barrelach in liberam, puram, & perpetuam elemosinam; noveritis nos dictas concessiones & donationes sive indotationes predictas capellae & capellanis ac clerico concessis ratificasse, approbasse, & pro nobis & heredibus nostris in perpetuum confirmasse in omnibus & per omnia forma pariter & effectu, adeo libere & quiete, integre & honorifice, prout in cartis sive litteris dicti Johannis inde factis & concessis plenius continetur. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus fecimus apponi. Apud Donald in festo beati Johannis Evangelistae, Anno Domini millesimo tricesimo septuagesimo primo. Hiis testibus, nobilibus viris Dominis Willelmo de Conyngham Domino de Kilmauris, Hugone de Eglinton Domino de Ardreslane, Johanne de Lyndesay Domino de Thurilton, Johanne Walays Domino de Ricardton, Duncano Walays Militibus, Andrea de Conyngham, Andrea More, Johanne Tayt, & multis aliis.

The Place
for the
Seals.

The

The Charter of Robert the 2d, King of Scots.

Robert, by the Grace of God King of Scots, to all good Men of all his Land, Clergy or Laity, greeting. Be it known to ye, that we have fully understood certain Letters of *John Kennedy of Dornonir*, made on account of the Foundation and Endowment of a certain Chapel and three Chaplainships, by the Church-yard of the Parish Church of *Mayboyl*, in the County of *Carryk*, which have by our Command been view'd, read, and carefully examin'd, being no way craz'd or deprav'd, and are in these Words. To all to whom these Presents shall come, *John Kennedy*, Lord of *Dornonir*, of the Parish of *Mayboyl*, in the Diocess of *Glasgow*, wilheth Health in the Saviour of all Men. Forasmuch as the Suffrages of Prayers and Works of Charity are truly advantageous among the other things thro which faithful Christians have a settled Faith of eternal Reward; both which he effectually performs and accomplishes, who with a faithful Zeal builds a sacred honourable Place for the Increase of Divine Worship out of the Estate bestow'd on him by God, and sufficiently endows it with Revenues for the Service of the Ministers. For this Reason I make known to you all, that I *John Kennedy* aforesaid, by the Authority of the Venerable Father in *Christ*, and Lord *Walter*, by the Grace of God Bishop of *Glasgow*, have founded and begun a certain Chapel in Honour and under the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, by the Church-yard of the Parish Church of *Mayboyl*, in the County of *Carrick*. But in regard that according to the Canons, he who designs to build, is before he finishes to provide as much as is requisite for Lights, Attendance, and the Stipends of the Ministers; therefore I *John* aforesaid do for my self and my Heirs give and grant to God, the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, all the Saints, and for ever to three Chaplains, who are there to perform Divine Service for the Prosperity of me, *Mary* my Wife, and my Children as long as we shall be in this World, and for our Souls when we shall depart this Life, as also for the Souls of all our Predecessors and Successors; and of all Faithful departed, eighteen Marc Lands of my Lands neighbouring,

bouring, contiguous or annex'd to the Church of *Mayboyl*-
 and Chapel aforesaid, together with eighteen Measures
 of dry ground Meal of the usual Product of that Land,
 and ten Marks Sterling to be yearly receiv'd of the Lands
 of *Balinclewane* at the two usual yearly Terms, and
 five *Marc Lands* of the Land of *Barreclegh*, and six *Marc*
Lands of the Land of *Tranethane*, and five *Marc Lands*
 of the Land of *Barrelach*, for the Maintenance of the
 said Church or Chapel, one Clerk and three Chap-
 lains, as abovesaid, for a free, pure and perpetual Alms,
 and for endowing of the said Chapel, without any Re-
 serve of Secular Superiority, Exaction, or Demand.
 And if the said Lands, yearly Revenues, or any part of
 them, shall happen to be diverted by Course of Law, I
 do oblige my self, my Heirs and Assigns, and all my
 Estate real and personal, and especially my Lands of
Donnonir, *Tonergethe*, and *Kylmikelly*, to endow the said
 Chapel, as far as shall be diverted and obtain'd from it.
 It is also my Will, that the Presentation of every one
 of the said Chaplainships, when vacant, shall belong to
 me and my Heirs, for four Months after the Time
 of its being so vacant, to be made to the Bishop of *Glas-*
gow, and upon the Vacancy of that See to its Chapter,
 for from that Time forward the free supplying of it shall
 devolve to them only for that Time, saving to my self
 and my Heirs for ever the Right of presenting at other
 Times for the future. I will also discharge the said
 Lands and Revenues, if there be any ordinary or extra-
 ordinary Incumbrances, or usual Services on them, from
 those to whom they are due, or otherwise other Lands
 of mine shall fully answer for all such Incumbrances.
 The Corn of the said Chaplains shall be ground in my
 Mill at *Ronnifre*, after me, and my Heirs, and the 2^{4th}
 Part shall be taken for grinding. I do farther promise
 for my self and my Heirs, that I will at my own Cost
 procure Charters of Confirmation of this my Gift of the
 Lords my Superiors, viz. of the Illustrious Person, the
 Lord Earl of *Carrick*, and of the most Excellent Prince
 my Lord the King of *Scotland*, to the end that my pre-
 sent Foundation may not in the whole or in part be in-
 fring'd by the Right of either of them. But if it shall
 happen, which God forbid, that I or any of my Heirs,
 should at any Time in any way act contrary to this pre-
 sent Foundation of the said three Chaplainships; I do
 oblige

oblige my self and my Heirs to pay the Sum of twenty Pounds Sterling for the Repairs of the Church of *Glasgow*, and the Sum of twenty Pounds Sterling to be apply'd to the enlarging and maintaining of the said Chapel, as a Penalty, and to make good the Damages the said Chaplains for the Time being shall happen to sustain, according to the Judgment of their Superior, as often as any thing shall be done contrary to this; the Foundation of the Chapel, its Endowment, Liberties, and the Continuance of the Penalty, being nevertheless to continue in their full Force; subjecting my self and my Heirs in all and every of the Premises to the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Glasgow*, that I and my Heirs may be absolutely and plainly, without any Noise or Form of Trial, be compell'd to the Performance of all and every the Premises by Ecclesiastical Censure. I do farther protest, that whereas the Venerable Father *William* Bishop of *Glasgow*, of worthy Memory, lately deceas'd, did by the Authority of Apostolick Letters, upon a Cause, enjoin me to found one Chaplainship for ever, one of these Chaplainships by me founded shall go to the discharging of me, that I may not be oblig'd to another Foundation hereafter on that Presence. In Testimony whereof my Seal, together with the Seal of the Lord *Gubert Kennedy* Knight, my Son and Heir, as also the Seal of the Venerable Father in *Christ*, and Lord *Walter*, by the Grace of God Bishop of *Glasgow*, together with the common Seal of that Chapter, is for the greater Security appended to this present Deed, and to another of the same Tenor: Of which Deeds one being for ever left with the Chapter of *Glasgow*, the other is to be kept by the Chaplains of the said Chapel in the Place they shall make choice of. In like manner of two Confirmations of the Lord Earl of *Carrik*, and two of our Lord the King of the same Tenor, which I will obtain; one of the Earl's and one of the King's shall for ever remain with the Chapter of *Glasgow*, and the other two with the Chaplains, as is abovesaid. Given at *Dumfries* aforesaid, on the last Day save one of the Month of *November*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Three Hundred and Seventy One.

The Place
for the two
small Seals.

The

The which Foundation and Endowment of Lands
aforesaid so made as a free, pure and perpetual Alms,
and for endowing of the said Chapel, according to the
Form and Effect of the same Deed, we do in all Things,
and to all Purposes, for our selves and our Heirs, ratify,
approve, and by this our present Charter for ever con-
firm. In Testimony whereof we have order'd our Seal
to be affix'd to this our present Charter of Confirmation.
Witnesses, the Venerable Father in Christ, *William Bi-*
shop of St. Andrews, John our eldest Son, Earl of *Carrik*
and *Stuart of Scotland, Robert* Earl of *Meneteth, Wil-*
liam Earl of *Douglas, John Carrik* our Chancellor, *Wil-*
liam Keth our Marshal, *James Lyndesay, Robert Erskyne,*
and *Hugh Eglynton* Knights. Given at *Dundenowald* the
fourth Day of the Month of *December*, in the first Year
of our Reign.

The Place
for the two
Great
Seals.

The Place
for the
Seal.

*The Charter of John Earl of Carrik, and Stuart of
Scotland.*

TO all those to whose Knowledge these Presents shall
come, *John*, eldest Son to *Robert*, by the Grace of
God King of *Scots*, Earl of *Carrick* and *Stuart of Scot-*
land, Greeting. Whereas our well-beloved Kinsman
John Kennedy, Lord of *Donmonir*, has built a Chapel in
Honour of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, by the Church-
yard of the Parish Church of *Mayboyle*, in our County
of *Carrik*, for the necessary Maintenance of three Chap-
lains and one Clerk, there for ever to perform Divine
Service, which he has endow'd with the under-written
Revenues and Possessions, viz. with eighteen Marc Lands
of Land contiguous, and neighbouring to, or annex'd to
the said Church of *Mayboyle*, and the Chapel aforesaid,
together with eighteen Measures of Meal dry-ground,
of the usual Growth of the said Land, and ten Marks
Sterling to be yearly receiv'd of the Land of *Balintarn-*
whane, at the two usual Times of the Year, and five Marc
Lands of the Land of *Barreclerch*, and six Marc Lands of
the

the Land of *Trenechane*, and five Marc Lands of the Land of *Barrelach*, for a free, pure, and perpetual Aims: Be it known to ye, that we ratify'd and approv'd, and for our selves and our Heirs have for ever confirm'd the said Grants or Donations and Endowments, granted to the said Chapel, and Chaplains, and Clerk, in all Points and to all Purposes, in Form and Effect, as freely and quietly, wholly and honourably, as is more fully contain'd in the Deeds or Letters of the said *John* thereupon made and granted. In Testimony whereof we have caus'd our Seal to be appended to these Presents. Given at *Dondonal*, on the Feast of *St. John* the Evangelist, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Three Hundred and Seventy one. These being Witnesses, the noble Persons the Lords *William Conyngham* Lord of *Kilmaurie*, *Hugh Eglinton* Lord of *Ardesane*, *John Lyndesay* Lord of *Thuriston*, *John Walays* Lord of *Ricardton*, *Duncan Walays* Knights, *Andrew Conyngham*, *Andrew More*, *John Tayt*, and many others.

The Place
for the
Seal.

The Instrument of Renowned and most Learned Men,
concerning the Charter of Robert Stuart of Scotland.

WE whose Names are underwritten being desir'd by that Worthy Person, *Lewis Innes*, Almoner to the Queen of Great Britain, and Head of the Scots College in the University of *Paris*, to meet in the Royal Monastery of *Sain Germain des Prez*, in this City of *Paris*, there to view and carefully examine the Charter of *Robert Stuart* of Scotland, dated at *Perth*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Three Hundred and Sixty Four, on the Twelfth Day of the Month of *January*, which is kept as authentick in the Archives of the said College lastly restor'd by the most Reverend Father in God, *James of Bethune*, Archbishop of *Glasgow* in Scotland, who brought away the antient Records of his Church with him into this City, and deposited

part

part of them for a perpetual Memorial in the said College, being assembl'd on the 26th Day of May, in the Year of our Lord 1694, did carefully inspect, examine, and with the greatest Exactness that possibly could be, discuss the above-mention'd Charter laid before us by the aforesaid Worthy *Lewis Innes*, and do testify the same to be antient, genuine, altogether writ in the Character of those Times, no way liable to the least Suspicion of being false or counterfeit, seal'd with two Seals, which we do also testify are antient and entire. And for the more Certainty of our Testimony and Judgment, we have taken care to have the said Charter here transcrib'd Word for Word, which is as follows.

Here in the Instrument the Charter is literally transcrib'd as is above mention'd, which is needless to be repeated, since it is in its proper Place before exactly copy'd both as to Orthography and Punctuation, as was there observ'd. And after giving the Charter, they proceed in their Testimony thus.

The said Charter was seal'd with two round Seals in Red Wax upon White, one of which has a Fels Checkie, and about it written in legible Letters, *Sigillum Roberti Senescalli Scotie*. The other has also a Fels Checkie, within a double Tressure of Flower-de-luces, and about it is written in legible Letters, *S. Johannis Senescalli*. In Testimony of all which Particulars, we have caus'd these Presents subscrib'd by all our Hands, to be seal'd with the Seal of the said Royal Monastery. Given in the said Monastery, the Day and Year above-mention'd.

* *Camillus le Tellier Abbas de Louvois.*

Eusebius Renaudot.

F. Johannes Mabillon.

Baluze.

F. Theodoricus Ruinart.

Honore Caille.

Nicolaus Clement.

And we *Hilarius Rouille de Coudray*, Privy Counsellor, and his Majesty's Sollicitor in the Supreme Court of Exchequer, being present in this Assembly of most Learned Men, and perfectly knowing in Antiquity, and having inspected and examin'd that Charter, did think fit to

C

verify

verify their Opinion by our Approbation ; and do judge no Man can make any doubt of its being most authentick, and altogether free from any Suspicion. In Testimony of all which we have here subscrib'd our own Hand, and caus'd our Seal to be affix'd.

Rouille de Coudray.

And we the Earls, Barons, and other Subjects of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, whose Names are underwritten, were present, whilst the aforesaid Charter was inscribed and examin'd by the aforesaid most learned and skilful Men in Antiquity, and we also saw it with them, and found it entire. In Testimony whereof we have put our Hands and Seals to these Presents. Given as above.

<i>Middleton. a</i>	<i>Milford. b</i>	<i>Dunfermling. c</i>
<i>Drummond. d</i>	<i>Dunkeld. e</i>	<i>W. Mr. Kenmour. f</i>
<i>Ch. Fleming. g</i>	<i>Alex. Maitland. h</i>	
<i>Ch. Kinnaird. i</i>	<i>All. Macdonald. k</i>	
<i>James Montgomerie. l</i>	<i>Walter Innes.</i>	
<i>Jo. Menzies.</i>	<i>James Malcolm.</i>	<i>Da. Lindsay.</i>
<i>J. Cockburn.</i>	<i>Charles Edwards.</i>	
<i>Jo. Livingstone.</i>	<i>James Murray.</i>	<i>N. Deans.</i>
<i>Rob. Arbuthnot.</i>		

* *Camillus le Tellier de Louvois, Abbot of Bourgueil and Valant, Canon of the famous Church of Reims, the King's Library-keeper.*

Eusebius Renaudot, the King's Historiographer.

Stephanus Baluzius, Canon of the renowned Church of Tulle, Regius Professor of Canon Law, and Overseer of the Colbert Library.

Honoratus Caille, Lord of Fourny, of his most Christian Majesty's Privy Council, and Auditor in the Court of Accounts.

Nicolaus Clement, Keeper of the Queen's Library.

Domnus Johannes Mabillon, Priest and Benedictin Monk of the Congregation of St. Maur.

Domnus Theoridicus Ruinart, Priest and Benedictin Monk of the Congregation of St. Maur.

a Charles

a Charles Middleton, *Privy Counsellor to the King of Great Britain in the Kingdoms of Scotland and England, &c.*
 b John Drummond, *Earl of Milford, Privy Counsellor to the King of Great Britain, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, &c.* c James Seatoun, *Earl of Dunfermling, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, &c.* d James Earl of Drummond, *eldest Son to James Earl of Perth, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, &c.* e James Galloway, *Vicecount Dunkeld.* f William Gordon, *Lord Kenmure, eldest Son to the Vicecount Kenmure.* g Charles Flemming, *Brother to John Earl of Wigton.* h Alexander Maitland, *Brother to Richard Earl of Lauderdale.* i Charles Kinradd, *Brother to the Baron of Kinradd.* k Allan Macdonald, *Chief of the Clan of Clanranald.* l James Montgomery *Knight, Lord of Skelmorlie.*
The rest Noblemen, Knights, and Persons of Learning.

These Testimonies out of *Mabillon* are of such undoubted Authority, that they cannot but satisfy any unbiass'd Person; but because there are many who will rather believe Scandal upon a slight Hearsay, or upon the Report of Malice, than an honourable Vindication, grounded upon substantial Proofs of unprejudiced Persons and Men of untainted Reputation, we will corroborate what this *French* impartial Author has, upon a solemn Examination of Matter of Fact, deliver'd, with the full and no less authentick Evidence of *Sir George Mackenzie*, his Majesty's Advocate in *Scotland*, above quoted by *Mabillon*; which Quotation being there of only some Heads, and very brief, it will be convenient to give the Reader his full Proofs upon this matter. His Reputation has always stood untainted, and being in the Post above-mention'd, he had the Opportunity of searching Records, and getting all the necessary Information that *Scotland* could afford, which *Hector Boetius*, the first Broacher of this Slander on the Family of the *Stuarts*, wanted, and *Buchanan*, who designedly improv'd it for his own Ends, as we shall see hereafter. *Sir George Mackenzie* writ a small Book, entitl'd, *Jus Regium, or the Just and Solid Foundations of Monarchy in general, and more especially of the Monarchy of Scotland, &c.* To which is annex'd another small Treatise, proving, *That the lawful Successor cannot be debarr'd from the Crown.* In this last, after bringing his own Arguments to make good his Assertion, he offers the Objections that may be

made, and solves them. The others not being to our Purpose, shall be here pass'd by, to avoid detaining the Reader upon any thing but what directly relates to the Legitimacy of the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*. This being the last Objection made against his Arguments, and fully answer'd, we will give in his own Words at large, for the more Perspicuity, as follows.

The last Objection is, That *Robert* the 3^d, King of *Scotland*, was by an Act of Parliament prefer'd to *David* and *Walter*, who, as he (*Buchanan*) pretends, were truly the eldest lawful Sons of *Robert* the 2^d, because *Euphan*, Daughter to the Earl of *Ross*, was first lawful Wife to King *Robert* the 2^d, and she bore him *David* Earl of *Strathern*, and *Walter* Earl of *Arbol*, *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, and *Euphan*, who was marry'd to *James* Earl of *Dowglass*; after whose Decease he marry'd *Elizabeth Muir*, Daughter to Sir *Adam Muir*; not so much, (as *Buchanan* observes) from any Design to marry a second Wife, as from the great Love he carry'd to *Elizabeth Muir*, whom because of her extraordinary Beauty he had lov'd very passionately in his Youth, and before he marry'd the Earl of *Ross*'s Daughter, and from the Love which he bore to the Sons whom *Elizabeth* had born before that first Marriage, who were *John* Earl of *Carrick* (who thereafter succeeded to the Crown by the Title of *Robert* the 3^d) and *Robert* Earl of *Fife* and *Monteith*; he prevail'd with the Parliament to prefer *John*, eldest Son to *Elizabeth Muir*, to the two Sons which he had by the Earl of *Ross*'s Daughter, who was (as they pretend) his first lawful Wife.

In which, tho' I might debate many nice Points of Law relating to this Subject, yet I chuse only to insist on these few convincing Answers.

1. That in a Case of so great moment, Historians should be little credited, except they could have produc'd very infallible Documents; and as in general one Historian may make all who succeed him err, so in this case *Boetius*, who was the first, lived and wrote 200 Years after the Marriage of King *Robert* the 2^d, and wrote his History at *Aberdeen*, very remote from the Registers and Records, by which he should have instructed himself; nor did he know the Importance of this Point, having touch'd it only transiently, tho' it

has

has been designedly pressed by *Buchanan*, to evince that the Parliaments of *Scotland* might prefer any of the Royal Line they pleas'd; and it is indeed probable that King *Robert* the 2^d did for some time make no great Noise of his first Marriage with *Elizabeth Muir*, lest the Meanness of the Match should have weakned his Interest upon his first coming to the Crown, he being himself the first of the Race of the *Stuarts*, and having so strong Competitors, as the Earl of *Dowglas*, who claim'd Right to the Crown in the Right of the *Baliol*, and the *Cummings*, as *Boetius* himself observes.

2. King *Robert* the 3^d having succeeded as the eldest lawful Son, and having been receiv'd as such by that Parliament, and his Posterity by all succeeding Parliaments, the Possession of the King, and the Acquiescence of the People, is the most infallible Proof that can be adduc'd for the proving that *Robert* was the eldest lawful Son, nor have most Kings in *Europe*, or the Heads of most private Families, any other Proof of their being the eldest and lawful Sons, save that they succeeded and were acknowledg'd as such.

3. To ballance the Authority of these Historians, I shall produce the Testimony of the Learned Sir *Lewis Stuart*, one of the most famous Lawyers we ever had, and who ought much more to be believ'd than *Buchanan*, not only because he was more disinterested, but because he found upon Acts of Parliament and old Charters, which he himself had seen in the Registers, in which *Elizabeth Muir* is acknowledg'd to have been the first Wife. [We have given this before in *English*, quoted by *Mabillon*, and will here repeat it in *Latin*, being the very Words of Sir *Lewis Stuart*, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, as follows.] *Buchananus lib. 9. in vita Roberti 2. affirmat Euphaniem, Comitiss Rossensis filiam primam Regis Roberti 2. uxorem fuisse, & ea mortua, Regem superinduxisse Elizabetham Moram, ex qua primo liberos ternos mares suscepisset, & eam uxorem duxisse, ejusque liberos regno destinasse, ut postea eorum natu maximus successit, quod quam falsum sit apparet ex archivis in carcere Edinburgensi reconditis, ubi extant separata acta duorum Parliamentorum subscripta manibus Ecclesiasticorum prasulum, nobilium, baronum, & aliorum statuum Parliamenti, & eorum sigillis roborata, quibus Elizabetha More agnoscitur prima uxor, & Euphania Rosse secunda;*

& liberis ex Elizabetha Mora nunquam iussu haereditas regni, successive regnum decernitur, & post eos liberis Euphaniae Rosse, necnon ibidem carta extant plurima facta per Davidem secundum, eorum patrum magnum de diversis terris, Johanni filio primogenito, nepoti ejus Roberti, dum Euphania Rosse viveret, necnon Davidi filio nato maximo Euphaniae Rosse, quem solum filium indigirat Roberti nepotis, quod non fecisset si Elizabetha Mora non prius fuisset nupta Roberto ejus nepoti, nam primogenitus nunquam attribuitur notho; imo ego plures quam viginti cartas in archivis inveni, ubi etiam eas reliqui, ex quibus forte clarescit elucescit, Elizabetham Moram primam fuisse uxorem, & Euphaniem Rosse secundam, nam extra controversiam, liberi Elizabethae Morae etate grandiores erant liberis Euphaniae Rosse. Which Paper I did get from the Lord Pitmeden, who has himself written some Learned Observations upon this Point.

104. I have my self seen an Act of Parliament (found out by the Industry of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet, now Lord Register) having the intire Seals of the Members of Parliament appended thereto, by which the Parliament do swear Allegiance to Robert the 2d, the first King of the Race of the Stuarts; and after him, Roberto Comiti de Carrick, filio suo nato maximo (his eldest Son) in Anno 1371, which was the first Year of his Reign. I have also found out a Copy of an Act of Parliament among the Records of the late famous Lord Register Skene, the Substance whereof was thus.

That a Parliament being call'd at Scoon the 17th of April, Anno 1373, and third Year of the Reign of King Robert the 2d, on purpose to secure the Succession, and to prevent all Disorders that might afterwards arise, in any Part of the Kingdom about Titles to the Crown; It was Enacted by the said King Robert the 2d, with the Advice and Consent of the whole Three Estates, That the Sons then born to the King by the first and second Wives, and their Heirs, should in Order succeed to the King in manner after specified: That is to say, That his eldest Son by the first Marriage, John Earl of Carrick, should immediately succeed, as had been already declar'd in the preceeding Parliament, and after him his Heirs; And in case he dy'd without Issue, that his Brother Robert, Earl of Montearney, the King's second Son of that Marriage, should succeed, and his Heirs: Which failing, that Alexander, Earl of Badenoch,

denoch, the King's third Son of that Bed; and his Heirs, should inherit the Crown; And in case that fail'd, that David, Earl of Strathern, the King's fourth Son by his second Wife, and his Heirs should succeed; And that failing, that Walter, the King's fifth Son by his said second Wife, and his Heirs, should inherit the Crown. And if it should happen that the said five Sons and their Issue should fail, that then the next in Blood of the Royal Line should succeed. Which Act all the Three Estates did for themselves and their Heirs forever, solemnly swear to observe, as is more largely to be seen in the Original it self.

And if the pretended Defect be true, it was a very palpable, and a very undeniable one, and could not but have unanswerably been known to the whole Nation. And how can we imagine, that the whole Parliament would have unanimously drawn upon themselves so dreadful a Perjury, by excluding the lawful Heir, against their National Oath, in the Reign of King Kenneth the 3d, whereby they swore to own always the immediate Heir; or that they would have entail'd upon themselves a Civil War, by preferring even a questionable Heir, after the Miseries which they had lately then felt, in the Competition betwixt the Bruce and the Baliol; amongst which Seals, the Seal of James Earl of Douglas is one; and how ridiculous is it to think, that he would sit and declare a Bastard preferable to the Brother of his own Lady, and to his own Lady who would have succeeded, if the Brothers had dy'd without Issue? Which Act of Parliament does also clearly prove, that Buchanan did not at all understand Matters of Fact in this Part of the History; for he asserts, that after the Death of Euphan Ross, the King marry'd Elizabeth Muir, and did by Act of Parliament obtain the Crown to be settled upon Robert the 3d, Son to the said Elizabeth Muir, upon whom he also bestow'd the Title of Carrick; all which is most false, for this Act of Parliament is dated in Anno 1371, and King Robert the 2d succeeded to the Crown that Year, nor did Euphan Ross die till the third after he succeeded to the Crown, and so not till the Year 1374; and yet in Anno 1371, this Act is pass'd, designing him Heir to the Crown, and Earl of Carrick; and consequently he was so design'd before the Death of Euphan Ross.

5. I have seen a Charter granted by King *Robert* the 2d, when he was only Steward of *Scotland*, in *Anno 1355*, and so long before he was King. In which Charter likewise, *John*, thereafter King, by the Name of *Robert* the 3d, is a conjunct Disposer with him, under the expresse Designation of the eldest Son and Heir. *Robertus Senescallus Scotie, Comes de Strathern, & Johannes Senescallus primogenitus & heres ipsius, Dominus Baronie de Kyle, &c.* which Charter confirms to the Abbacy of *Pasley* several Lands dispon'd to them, by *Riginaldus More*, Father to Sir *William More* of *Abercorn*. And I find that *David* Duke of *Rothsay*, was always in the Charters granted by his Father King *Robert* the 1st, call'd *Primogenitus*, and he was no Bastard, nor can this Designation be given to a Bastard, as is clear by *Gouarrubias de Matrim. part. 2. cap. 8. §. 2. num. 4.* But how can it be imagin'd that the Monks of *Pasley* would have taken a Right from a Person, as Heir to the Crown, who was not? For this would have inferr'd Treason against them, beside the annulling their Right. Or who could understand better the Lawfulness of a Marriage, than a Body of Churchmen, living in the Time, and very near to the Residence of the marry'd Persons, and in whose Conventual Church, the said King *Robert* and *Elizabeth Muir* lie bury'd together.

Item, I have seen in the Registers another Charter granted by King *Robert* the 2d, in the first Year of his Reign, with the Consent of *John*, Earl of *Carrick*, *primogenitus & heres Allano de Lavidia terrarum de Whitset*; And another granted by the said King, 1 June, *Anno primo regnis* confirming to *Paulo Mcire*, a Charter granted by the Earl of *Ross*, Father to *Euphan*, wherein the said *John primogenitus & heres*, is a Witness: And to shew that the said *Euphan* was then living, when he was so design'd Heir; there is a Charter to her by the King upon the very same Day, of the Lands of *Lochleaven*. As also, there is a Charter granted by King *Robert* the 2d, the first Year of his Reign, to *Alexander* his Son, and another to *John Kennedy*, of the Barony of *Dalrymole*, in both which the said *John*, Earl of *Carrick*, is call'd *Primogenitus*, and is Witness with the Earl of *Douglas*; so that he has been design'd eldest Son and Heir openly, uncontrovertedly, and in all Papers, and with the Consent of the second Wife and her Relations.

6. In

6. In the Parliament 1372, the said *John* Earl of *Carrick*, is design'd to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom, and all the Estates of Parliament swear to own him in his Government, and which Statute is printed amongst the Statutes of King *Robert* the 2d, Father to the said *John*, and which must be during the Marriage with *Euphan Ross*, for she liv'd three Years after her Husband was King, and he succeeded to the Crown, *Anno* 1371. And this also confutes *Buchanan*, who asserts, that he was created Earl of *Carrick* after the Death of *Euphan Ross*, and it is against all Sense and Reason, to think that he could have been acknowledg'd during her Life, if he had not been the true apparent Heir of the Crown, and a lawful Son.

I have also seen in *Fordon's History*, lib. 14. p. 73. a Charter granted by King *David* to the Bishops, with the Consent of *Robert* his Nephew, and his Son's, giving Power to the Bishops to dispose in Testament upon their own Moveables, which before that Time did by a corrupt Custom fall to the King: in which Charter the Witnesses are, *Robertus Senescallus Comes de Strathern, nepos noster Johannes Senescallus Comes de Carrick, filius suus primogenitus & heres, Thomas Comes de Mar, Georgius de Dunbar, Comes de March, & Gulielmus Comes de Dowglas*; so that here is not only the Attestation of the Father before he was King, naming *John*, Earl of *Carrick*, thereafter King *Robert* the 3d, his eldest Son and Heir, but the Attestation of the Grand Uncle, King *David*, who could be no ways bias'd in the Affair; and here he is rank'd before the three eldest Earls in the Nation, who were then the three first Subjects therein; and it is against all Sense, to think, that the whole Bishops would have sought the Consent of the said *John*, as apparent Heir of the Crown, if he had not been apparent Heir. I find also, that *Fordon* calls him, when he is crown'd King, *Primogenitus Roberti secundi*, nor was there the least Opposition made to his Coronation, nor to the Coronation of *Annabella Drummond*, his Queen, a Daughter of the House of *Stob-bal*, now *Pearth*, tho' both the Sons of the second Marriage were then alive. I find also, that *Boetius* himself acknowledges, that the Earl of *March's* Son *George*, being pursu'd for having marry'd clandestinely one of the Daughters of *Elizabeth Muir*, his Defence was, That he marry'd her when she

was the Daughter of a private Subject, and before King Robert was King, whereas if she had been only a Bastard Daughter, it could have been no Crime to have marry'd her.

7. *Walter*, who they pretend should have succeeded to the Crown, having kill'd his Nephew King *James* the 1st, Son to King *Robert* the 3d; he was not only not own'd after the Death of the said King *James*, as certainly he had been if his Title had been good, and his Right so recent and demonstrable, having so many great and powerful Relations, that his Father was induc'd upon their account to marry his Mother; but yet the said *Walter* was by all the Parliament unanimously condemn'd as a Traytor, for having conspir'd the Death of his lawful Prince. Nor does *Bertius* justify *Walter's* Title in the least, but on the contrary, magnifies the Parliament for their just Sentence; as did likewise *Aneas Silvius*, the Pope's learned Legate, who exhorted the Parliament to condemn him.

8. How is it imaginable that King *Robert*, who had so lately, and after a strong Competition come to the Crown, would have adventur'd to make his Title yet more disputable, by preferring a Bastard to the true Heir, who had so many Friends by his Mother, and who being an Infant had never disoblig'd him.

9. If we will consider the Opinion of *Civilians*, whom we and almost all Nations follow in the Cases of Succession, we will find, that the said King *Robert* the 3d, was the eldest and lawful Son of King *Robert* the 2d, *Filius legitimus, & non legitimatus*. For,

1. They conclude, that a Son is prov'd to be a lawful Son by the Assertion of the Father, *Alois. tract. presumpt. Reg. 1. p. presumpt. 2. num. 6.* and certainly the Father is the best Judge in such Cases; but so it is, we have the Father owning the said *Robert* the 3d, to be his eldest Son and Heir, both in Charters and Acts of Parliament, which are the most solemn of all Deeds.

11. *Quando pater instituit aliquem tanquam filium suum*, which holds in this Case, where the Father institutes and leaves him Heir, and the Parliament swears Allegiance to him as the Heir. *Miscar. de prob. vol. 2. conclus. 292.* And in dubious Cases, the Father's naming such a Man as a Son, presumes him to be a lawful Son, *Nominatio*

1. I shall add nothing to the material already
2. have the material ready to make my own
3. I shall add nothing to the material already
4. have the material ready to make my own
5. I shall add nothing to the material already
6. have the material ready to make my own
7. I shall add nothing to the material already
8. have the material ready to make my own
9. I shall add nothing to the material already
10. have the material ready to make my own

and has written on a number of occasions that the "Germans are
willing to give us the best of the population, but they
will not allow us to have the best of the land." The
fact that the Germans are willing to give us the best of the
land, but not the best of the population, is a clear indication
that they are not willing to give us the best of the land.
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FINIS

